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ABSTRACT

The relationship between research and educational policy in the areas of school system decentralization and community control is analyzed in this dissertation. The literature on decentraliztion and community control is reviewed. It is contended that existing empirical research on these subjects has not systematically tested the assumptions underlying policy rationale. The data base in the social sciences and the applied fields of educational research and evaluation of social action programs is examined. The extent to which the accumulated data in these disciplines permit the testing of assumptions underlying the research on policy rationale of participatory strategies is considered. Problems which arise while attempting to evaluate decentralization and community control are mentioned. These include the definition of concepts, the limitations of data gathered for assessing the validity of policy assumptions about what might be true under a different set of conditions, and other methodological problems. The effects of decentralization/community control strategies on academic achievement, parent and student attitudes, and school responsiveness are also explored. Factors which, from the available data, appear to stimulate parent participation in the schools are discussed to illustrate effective participatory strategies. (Author/AM)

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SCHOOL DECENTRALIZATION AND COMMUNITY CONTROL:
POLICY IN SEARCH OF A RESEARCH AGENDA

By

HARRIET SPIVAK

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PREFACE

If there is a single motif that runs through the protest politics and social reform strategies of the past decade in this country, that theme would seem to be captured in the phrases "unresponsive institutions" and "participatory democracy." Protesters and reformers have charged that major American institutions are unresponsive to the needs of those served, and that they are particularly unresponsive to groups outside the white middle-class American mainstream. The solutions proposed tend to involve creation of participatory mechanisms -- structures that provide those served with access, influence, and a voice in decisionmaking.[1]

Those writers who have formulated a rationale for these strategies tend to view participation as the key to reversing institutional policies and practices that are unresponsive to the needs of excluded groups. The new participatory structures are expected to produce new policy outputs that are redistributive in nature. Society's rewards are assumed to be allocated to those who participate in the policy process directly, or indirectly through representatives committed to their interests. It is expected that bringing previously excluded groups into the political mainstream will redistribute power and influence, and with it the benefits of the good life.[2]

The demand for participation has arisen out of an emerging consciousness of exclusion, and inequities (imagined or real) that seem to accompany such exclusion. This sense of exclusion has spread contagiously from group to group, until by the early '70s it seems to have come full circle. In recent years, it is the previously dominant white middle class that has come to see itself as the excluded and aggrieved group to whom the "system" fails to respond. Consequently, they too are charging "exclusion" and pursuing new participatory patterns to further their interests.[3]

What is involved here is a phenomenon so broad and so significant that one political scientist, Sidney Verba, has come to describe the contemporary period in terms of a "crisis of participation." The period is critical in that all three fundamental issues of participation are being raised at once. In answer to the questions who shall participate, in what issues, in what ways? -- Verba wrote, "new people want to participate, in relation to new issues, and in new ways."[4]

These questions have emerged most clearly, and most heatedly, in the controversies over school system decentralization and community control. They were dominant concerns in discussions of educational reform from 1966 until at least 1970. During that period, the New York City school system was kept in a seemingly constant state of turmoil over demands for increased parent and community participation in educational decisionmaking.[5] This approach to educational reform emerged out of the stormy circumstances of the New York City school scene, had a series of severe tests of fire in that city, and spawned a community control "movement" of sorts. The "movement" incorporated diverse ventures from single schools of fewer than 100 students to attempts to implement decentralization and community control in some of the nation's largest cities.[6] The issues were hardly unique to New York. Several other cities were confronted with controversies over the same questions during this period.[7] The issues spread not only to other cities, but to other institutions as well.[8]

The intensity of the struggle surrounding these issues has only recently begun to wane. With the passage of time, the conflicts have receded into memory, and with them some of the partisan loyalties they generated. Participants have become more analytical about their roles and the circumstances that surrounded their actions.[9] Advocate researchers have become more precise and balanced in their presentations.[10] And members of the academic community, whose theories were so influential in the '60s as rationale and blueprint for social change, have become more reflective about the complexities of institutional and social change and the limits of social science knowledge.[11]

This would seem a particularly opportune time to review the literature on school system decentralization and community control to determine what we have learned about the viability of these strategies and of the participatory approach more broadly. The questions that fueled these controversies are still unresolved, and perhaps now they can be reopened more dispassionately. While much of the heat may have gone out of them, they are hardly dead issues and our interest in them is more than academic. Decentralization of city services remains a live political issue in New York City and elsewhere,[12] and the debate on school decentralization was revived with the second round of school board elections in New York.[13] Nor is community control a dead letter on our national and municipal policy agendas. The demand for community control has been voiced recently in white as well as nonwhite communities where it was rarely heard before.[14]

Decentralization and community control have been debated with a good deal of rhetoric, broad generalizations, and unproved assumptions. Policymakers who must deal with current versions of the old demands are functioning in something of a vacuum of reliable and useful information about these strategies. They need some clarity about the inputs that define these strategies, their manipulability, and their probable consequences.

One might assume that this kind of information is available in the decentralization/community control literature. However, this is hardly the case. Despite the polemical debate and intense controversy surrounding these issues, and the rather extensive literature they have generated, we seem to have advanced little in our understanding of either the problems that gave rise to the ferment, or the viability of the proposed solutions. We have learned a great deal about the politics of policy formulation and implementation,[15] but very little about the effectiveness of the policies in operation, or the validity of the assumptions on which they are based. Even the rationales for these policies pose problems for the researcher, since they are rarely stated clearly enough for us to assume that there is agreement on the policy inputs that define the strategies, the effects presumed to flow from them, or even the meaning of the terms used in the rationales so that they can be operationalized and tested. The literature is fraught with definitional, normative, methodological, and substantive problems that need clarification. This analysis is intended as an exploration of these problems, as an effort to clear away the thicket obscuring the essential questions in need of research, and as a tentative formulation of a research agenda to investigate these issues.

The research community's limited response to the school decentralization/community control controversies provides us with some insight into the current undeveloped state of the field of educational policy research. The questions raised in these controversies were clearly of high priority.[16] During the height of the controversies, the future pattern of big city school governance appeared to be hanging in the balance, and beyond schools, the nature of the institutional, political, and social accommodations to be made to cultural pluralism in America.[17] The conflict in New York City signalled a new phase in the education reform movement that had emerged from the public debate over issues of race and poverty in this country. Catapulted into prominence were a vastly different set of policy options from those that had been the focus of reform debate. For policy analysts and researchers, an uncharted territory had been opened up that posed fundamental problems of critical urgency, and should have given impetus to the formulation and investigation of a broad and significant research agenda. Available across the nation were sites in which to explore the basic research questions in the manner of planned variation studies or policy experiments.[18]

What was needed was sound policy analysis, supported by research, to clarify policy options, assess the validity of the assumptions on which they were based, and estimate the consequences of policy alternatives that might be implemented. The community control issue first emerged in 1966. It is now 1973 and what is still needed is sound policy analysis, supported by research, to clarify the policy options, assess the validity of the assumptions on which they are based, and estimate the consequences of policy alternatives that might be implemented.

The published literature lacks a systematic synthesis of either the questions in need of investigation or the evidence available to test these questions. Each researcher must start anew -- locating sources, classifying and synthesizing them, abstracting underlying assumptions, undertaking library searches to find evidence relevant to testing these assumptions, then critically analyzing the field research conducted in sites where these policies have been implemented. These are laborious tasks, and one could get discouraged easily in the early stages of such an enterprise. Our personal contacts suggest that many who had planned to pursue research on these questions changed their plans at one or another of these stages along the way. Perhaps the literature seemed too thin to merit more than cursory review. And such casual attention to the literature may have increased the difficulty of defining the questions in need of investigation and formulating a research agenda. Or perhaps the possibilities of conducting the kind of evaluative research or policy experiments required by such a research agenda seemed too remote.

If the newly established National Institute of Education is able to fulfill its promise and function in the manner of the other national research institutes, policy research in this country may become so organized that large-scale evaluative designs and policy experiments become more feasible. However, before such a research agenda can be designed for investigating decentralization and community control, the task of analyzing and synthesizing this literature must be undertaken. We offer the following chapters as a contribution to such an effort.

Our analysis is divided into three parts. In all three parts, our primary concern is to assess the substance and limits of our knowledge on the viability of these strategies. We consider available data on the effectiveness of these policies in operation, and an even larger body of evidence relevant to testing the validity of assumptions underlying these strategies.

In each part, we approach this task through analysis of a different body of evidence. In Part I, we consider the decentralization/community control literature itself. Part II turns to the data base in the social science disciplines and the applied fields of educational research and evaluation of social action programs. In a later draft of this manuscript, we shall include Part III, which focuses on a body of New York City data gathered by Center for Urban Education researchers over the past few years. These data are addressed to several of the questions left unanswered in the literature.

funded study, The School Legitimacy Study. In September 1973, this slightly revised version was submitted to the Harvard Graduate School of Education as the author's qualifying paper, pursuant to the requirements for an Ed.D. degree.

The analysis presented here was a small part of a larger effort. The main study, The School Legitimacy Study, was an extensive piece of survey research undertaken to pursue one of the critical unanswered questions identified in this manuscript. The findings of that study are reported in School Openness, Parent Participation, and Satisfaction: An Exploration of Causal Models, an unpublished Ed.D. dissertation submitted by the author to the Harvard Graduate School of Education in December 1974.

This manuscript, and the larger study, would not have been possible without the active support and encouragement of the management and trustees of the now-defunct Center for Urban Education. I am especially indebted to Robert A. Dentler and Lawrence R. Perkins, Directors of the Center, and Morton Inger and Barry Kaufman, Directors of the Center's Evaluation and Research Division. I gratefully acknowledge the funding support provided by the Office and Education and the National Institute of Education.

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PART I

THE DECENTRALIZATION/COMMUNITY CONTROL LITERATURE

A review of the decentralization/community control literature can be a disappointing venture if one is looking for evidence of either the effectiveness of these strategies or the validity of the assumptions on which they are based. There is an extensive body of books and articles about these approaches and the controversies they stimulated. Yet to a large extent the matter has been ignored by researchers.

Almost all the available evidence on the effects of these policies has been collected by a single group of researchers, the Queens College Institute for Community Studies (ICS), headed by Marilyn Gittell.[1] Even most of the softer data (in the forms of descriptive and interpretive histories, journalistic accounts, and analytical case studies) have been produced by the same researchers. We are indebted to this group for providing whatever information we do have about these policies. However, the limitations of the ICS output must be taken into account in any assessment of the state of existing knowledge about these strategies.

The data gathered from decentralized or community controlled projects are uneven in quality, relatively paltry in quantity, suffer from serious methodological weaknesses, and raise more questions than they answer. The few published reviews of related research are oriented more toward advocacy than critical analysis. They tend, therefore, to be of limited merit as syntheses of what we can say we know at this point about the viability of these strategies.

Given the lack of useful syntheses in the published literature, researchers who propose to investigate these strategies must try to come to terms with the bulk of the literature itself. Much of the literature is highly repetitive, including multiple versions of the same pieces. Still, the reader who can cope with the tedium may be rewarded with numerous insights into the fundamental questions at issue in the controversies and the assumptions in need of research. In Chapter I, we provide an overview of the literature, suggesting the kind of insights a reader can derive from each category of writings.

Decentralization and community control proposals were premised on an extremely complex body of assumptions about educational, organizational, political, and social change. These strategies assume so intricate an interaction of usually confounded variables that perhaps it was inevitable that any research to explore the viability of these approaches would produce less than conclusive findings. In Chapter II, we attempt to separate these intertwined threads and explore the rationale for each provided in the literature. We have abstracted from the literature the assumptions made by advocates of these approaches, and systematized them into a causal model of what is expected to follow from their implementation. This causal model is central to our analysis throughout this manuscript.

In Chapter III, the literature is analyzed to determine what we can say we have learned about the effectiveness of decentralization and community control in operation. The available field research is subjected to close scrutiny. We examine the measurement and design problems posed by the causal model the researchers were investigating implicitly. We then assess the manner in which the researchers approached questions of measurement and design, summarize the findings of their studies, and suggest the extensive number of questions left unanswered by the research.

One of the most interesting questions we might ask about all this is why the researchers proceeded as they did. We might especially ask why they raised so few questions about the assumptions they were investigating and the procedures they were using. In Chapter IV, we engage in some speculation about these matters. We consider the ideological, intellectual, and methodological frameworks that appear to have conditioned their thinking, shaped their definition of the issues, and limited the alternatives considered in formulating their research agenda.

We also consider in this chapter the virtual monopoly on field research held by the ICS researchers. We speculate on why this situation existed, and what it implies about the political context of policy research and the severe constraints on researchers who study natural experiments. From such speculation, we draw a number of inferences about the current undeveloped state of the field of educational policy research, and consider changes in the organization and management of the field that might advance the state of the art and of available policy-relevant knowledge.

CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Decentralization and community control are premised on so complex a body of assumptions that researchers attracted to these strategies should expect to devote more than the usual amount of attention to such preliminaries as a literature review. Little of the literature is addressed to researchers or phrased with the kind of conceptual or operational rigor one expects in journal articles or research monographs. A reviewer may therefore find his patience taxed and his energies drained before he has come to terms with these writings. An incomplete understanding of the literature, however, could lead the researcher astray. Instead of designing studies that get to the heart of the issues involved, he might pursue investigations of the obvious, or studies that simply miss the point.

We therefore suggest at least six categories of writings that should be reviewed by any researcher who plans to investigate these strategies. We characterize these categories as: history; advocacy; philosophical analysis; project descriptions; empirical research; and policy analysis.[1] If approached cautiously, the literature in each of these categories can be useful for sharpening the researcher's insight into the questions in need of investigation.

HISTORY

These writings represent by far the largest category in the literature. We have included here not only historical overviews and analyses,[2] but also the extensive body of issue analysis, commentary, and debate that took up a considerable amount of space in the media during the I.S. 201 and Ocean Hill-Brownsville controversies in New York City.[3] While the bulk of the literature is concerned with events in New York, some of it is focused on unfolding circumstances in other parts of the country.[4]

The historical pieces consider particular projects, citywide controversies, and state-level legislative politicking.[5] They provide details about what happened in these arenas over a period of one, two, or perhaps as long as three or four years. Most of the pieces are partisan, reflecting one or another side in a given controversy. Much of the literature argues points of fact or motive.[6] The sources of evidence tend to be media accounts, interviews, observation, and personal experience. As histories, they tend to be journalistic rather than scholarly in approach. Not a single one of these pieces was written by an historian,[7] and lacking almost entirely is evidence of the historian's attention to validity of evidence, veracity of sources, and the like. A solid historical analysis of the subject has not as yet been published.

Still, the literature in this category is indispensable to an understanding of the political context in which the issues came to be defined and the policies implemented. These writings suggest the various ways in which different parties to the controversies defined the problems in need of solution. They underscore the symbolic and ideological significance the controversies came to have. They provide insight into some of the intense feelings that polarized the political context in which events unfolded, and suggest how such a polarized atmosphere limited the policy options that could be implemented. A reviewer inclined to slight these pieces might well lose sight of the critical social and political dimensions of these strategies, and mistake their targets as simply educational and organizational change.

The more analytical case studies also tell us a good deal about the politics of policy implementation: the interest groups who initiated demands for decentralization or community control; the responses of system officials and other interest groups; discernible patterns in the clash of groups with conflicting interests; the dynamics of escalating conflict; and the like.[8]

For our purposes, the historical discussions are valuable for a further reason. We shall focus a good deal of attention in our analysis on questions of policy impact. Most of the available data on these strategies have been collected from school districts in New York City, and the generalizability of such data is by no means clear. Are conditions in New York City generalizable to circumstances anywhere else in the country? Did the intense controversy surrounding decentralization in this city so affect the implementation of the strategy that the New York experience loses whatever validity it otherwise might have had as a policy test? If the available New York City data are to be used to make inferences about the effects to be expected from these policies, we must use the historical pieces to arrive at some judgments on these points.

ADVOCACY

We have characterized as advocacy those writings in which proponents of decentralization and community control present their case.[9] These pieces seek to demonstrate how a number of educational, organizational, social, and political factors are responsible for the failures of large city school systems. The problem definition is linked inevitably to the preferred solution: decentralization and/or community control are usually set forth as the only viable approaches to the needed reforms.

Implicitly or explicitly, the advocacy articles present a number of causal assumptions about the favorable consequences to be expected from implementation of these policies. The importance of these pieces, then, cannot be overemphasized. And despite their highly repetitive nature[10] they should be reviewed carefully. They are valuable for understanding the rationales for these policies and formulating a research agenda of assemptions to be tested.

At first glance, it might seem curious that we have included in this advocacy category the only published reviews of the social science and educational literature relevant to the assumptions underlying the decentralization/community control rationale.[11] However, careful examination of these reviews suggests that they are more concerned with advocacy than analysis.

Research findings tend to be discussed uncritically, with few questions raised about methodological soundness or the validity of the conclusions researchers draw from their data. The reviews tend to overstate the ties between data and conclusions, and ignore the limitations of the data cited. In a number of statements, implications drawn from these findings by the reviewers involve inferential leaps considerably broader than those made in the original studies. This is especially true when the inferences involve interpretations of directional causality. And occasional rhetorical excesses in the reviews tend to overstate the importance to be attached to certain propositions, or the unanimity with which researchers concur on their validity.[12] The weaknesses of these reviews are unfortunate since they dilute the respectability of the case that might be made for these strategies, and put a suspect cast on questions that are largely unanswered.

The reviews must be used with great caution, then, as guides to research. However, they are invaluable for the clarity with which they reveal advocates' assumptions about the causal mechanisms at work in decentralization and community control.

PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSES

Philosophical treatments of community control make up a relatively small but important category of writings. Although most of these pieces are of an advocacy nature, they are distinguishable from our advocacy category by both the kinds of questions addressed and the kinds of material analyzed. The articles in our advocacy category are oriented toward justifying these policies by expounding on the positive effects to be expected from their implementation. In answer to the question, how will these policies solve the educational problems of minority populations in our cities, the advocacy articles set forth a number of empirically testable, logically interrelated propositions about the intermediate and long-range effects to be expected from such policies.

In contrast, the philosophical analyses tend to justify these policies by reference to ideas or theories that are normative rather than empirical, and therefore are not subject to empirical tests. These analyses include justification for community control in terms of normative democratic theory about the way things ought to be in some idealized classical version of democratic society.[13] They also include assertions of rights and legitimate domains of authority inherent in such abstract ideas as nationhood or community. We would therefore categorize here the writings on community control that reflect a black nationalism or black power framework.[14] We would also place here Leonard Fein's fascinating analyses of community control as a political and social theory (even more than educational theory), and as a theory that forced thinking liberals to come to terms with the illusory nature of their view of social reality.[15]

The philosophical analyses are particularly useful for providing insight into the significance of the community control controversies beyond the limited sphere of educational reform. They suggest that assessments of the effectiveness and impact of decentralization and community control will have to consider a broader range of outcomes than changes in school functioning or academic achievement -- that impact on community development (however that is defined) must also be considered.

PROJECT DESCRIPTIONS

Of all the books and articles in the decentralization/community control literature, those most valuable to the researcher concerned with policy impact are the project descriptions and empirical research. The line we have drawn between these two categories is at times a fine one. The procedures used by the writers of the project descriptions appear to be participant observation and site visits, supplemented by correspondence[16] -- procedures not very different from those used in some of the empirical research.[17] However, the two types of publications are addressed to rather different needs and present somewhat different kinds of data.

Almost all the writings in the project-description category were published by the ICS group, mostly in their two periodicals, Community and Community Issues.[18] The articles and pamphlets in this category are journalistic in approach, describing what is being implemented, where, and how. The presentations are qualitative rather than quantitative, generally descriptive rather than analytical. They neither raise nor attempt to answer policy questions. They seem primarily directed toward circulating information about experimentation with these strategies in different parts of the country, and creating the sense that there is a community control movement afoot across the nation.

From the researcher's point of view, these accounts are tantalizing. They spark one's interest but describe the projects in so little depth that the accounts are unsatisfying. Of course, the ICS team were not writing these accounts for researchers, and it would seem unfair to fault them for not meeting our needs when they seem to have accomplished their own purposes with a good deal of success. Whatever their limitations, the ICS descriptive accounts are invaluable sources of information about the projects' forms of governance, curriculum innovations, and staffing patterns. Any researcher concerned with evaluating the impact of decentralization and community control should review these accounts, and generate from them research questions one would expect field researchers to investigate. (The extent to which field researchers did or did not address such questions is a matter we shall turn to in a later chapter.)

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The studies in this category present the results of research undertaken to answer specific empirical or theoretical questions. Despite the obvious importance of empirical investigations for understanding and assessing these strategies, publications of this kind represent at most 10 - 15% of the literature.

The theoretically-oriented work is useful primarily as support for the decentralization/community control rationale. The classics in this category are Marilyn Gittell's Participants and Participation[19] and David Rogers' 110 Livingston Street.[20] On one level, these studies are descriptive accounts of the policy process in the New York City school system prior to decentralization, with particular focus on the functioning of the centralized administrative structure. On another level, Gittell's analysis is a systematic presentation of data collected to assess the validity of the pluralist theory of the American political process, and Rogers' work is an organizational analysis systematically pursued to explore the theoretical notions of pathological bureaucracy and resistance to innovation. Although less polished and well developed than these classics in the literature, Lois Steinberg's ongoing study of school board decisionmaking in a New York suburb also belongs in this category.[21] Steinberg uses her descriptive data to cast doubt on the validity of the model of open, highly participatory, responsive, and accountable school governance popularly assumed to be characteristic of suburbia. The Gittell and Rogers works provide the clearest available expositions of the administrative/organizational explanation of the failure of large-city school systems. All these studies are valuable for the light they shed on advocates' assumptions about the critical importance of community participation in reversing that failure.

In addition to these pieces that provide a good part of the theoretical rationale, there are two unpublished empirical studies that employed a somewhat different approach to understanding the background to the decentralization demand. In two independent studies, Albert Cardarelli[22] and George LaNoue[23] tried to identify the correlates of decentralization through analyses of large matrices of aggregate data. The question addressed in both studies is why the decision was made to decentralize in some cities and not in others. Both tried to identify those demographic and school-related factors distinguishing cities that had implemented decentralization from those that had not. Neither took into account the diverse forms decentralization had taken -- e.g., different degrees of community involvement in decisionmaking, from none to a great deal. Both used aggregate, citywide data, despite that fact that decentralization and community control demands tend to arise in specific neighborhoods of cities, and therefore local community data might have been more appropriate. Neither study unearthed any significant relationship beyond the perfectly obvious -- e.g., that the larger the school system, the greater the likelihood that it will have implemented some form of administrative decentralization.[24] (However, some of the hypothesized relationships not confirmed by LaNoue's data were interesting.[25])

The remaining studies in this category present the results of field research on the effectiveness of decentralization and community control in operation. Some are largely analytical evaluations; others report more quantitative empirical research.

The analytical evaluations tend to be primarily qualitative and judgmental. They are concerned with assessing the strengths and weaknesses of a given attempt to implement decentralization or community control, and using this information to make recommendations for change. Where evidence for the writers' judgments is provided, it tends to be in the form of impressions gathered from observation, interviewing, and critical analysis. Occasionally, the qualitative evidence is supplemented by quantitative data gathered more or less systematically, and presented more or less completely. These evaluations differ from more strictly empirical research reports in their heavily judgmental rather than data-based emphasis. They are conclusion-oriented, rather than data-oriented. The evidence is rarely presented completely enough to permit reanalysis, or to enable the reader to assess the validity of inferences and conclusions. They tend to be written primarily to inform policymaking bodies, rather than to contribute to the researcher's knowledge base.

The literature includes several good examples of publications in this genre. The first of these was a 1966 report recommending school decentralization to New York City's Temporary Commission on City Finances.[26] The second was the report of the Board of Education's Advisory Committee on Decentralization, evaluating the 1967-68 version of administrative decentralization in the New York City school system, and especially the three demonstration districts (Ocean Hill-Brownsville, I.S. 201, and Two Bridges) in their first year of operation.[27] Another good example is Boulton Demas' ICS study, criticizing the electoral mechanisms in the 1969 Decentralization Act, relating this critique to the outcomes of the 1970 community school board elections, and recommending changes in the law.[28] The most recent report in this genre is the ICS evaluation of the first year of decentralization in New York City under the law passed by the state legislature in 1969. This publication, School Decentralization and School Policy in New York City, was prepared for the New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education (the Fleischman Commission).[29]

The more quantitative empirical investigations provide the best data available for assessing the impact of decentralization and community control and testing the validity of the causal model underlying the policy rationale. Despite the relatively small number of reports available for inclusion in the category, they represent a somewhat varied range of research approaches. To assess the effects of these strategies on school effectiveness, researchers have analyzed student achievement scores over time.[30] Several statistical measures of school functioning have been used to make inferences about the policy impact on school climate.[31] Questionnaires have been administered in classrooms to assess effects of these policies on student perceptions and attitudes.[32] Mailed questionnaires have been used to investigate the social backgrounds and policy orientations of school board candidates, and then to make inferences about the effectiveness of the new electoral mechanisms in recruiting new kinds of participants to leadership positions.[33]

Questions about changes in the pattern of school governance and responsiveness of the policy process have been approached through intensive elite interviewing, analysis of school board meetings and minutes, examination of school system records, and an exploratory attempt to combine the case study and hypothesis testing approaches.[34] Data about the quantity and quality of community participation in the governance process have been collected by use of these approaches as well as analysis of election statistics and parent survey data.[35] Public opinion surveys have been employed to explore the impact of the change in school governance not only on parents' participation patterns, but also their perceptions, especially their satisfaction with the schools.[36]

One might assume from this discussion that there is a fairly substantial body of data available to the researcher to assess the effectiveness of these policies in operation. Actually, most of these approaches represent the work of Marilyn Gittell's ICS staff. And most of the available data are reported in two publications -- Demonstration for Social Change,[37] presenting the ICS data on the demonstration districts over the three years of their existence, and School Decentralization and School Policy,[38] a report on the ICS evaluation of the first year of school decentralization in New York City under the provisions of the state's Decentralization Act of 1969. A careful review of these reports should be the first step in any systematic effort to come to terms with the empirical data available for testing the effectiveness of these strategies. They are not rigorous methodologically, and they suffer from serious measurement and design problems. However, they represent almost the sum total of available knowledge on these questions and are important as well as thought-provoking documents.

POLICY ANALYSES

The two entries classified in this category come closest to being the syntheses needed by policymakers and researchers. In a Commentary article by David K. Cohen [39] and a brief book by Alan A. Altshuler,[40] some of the key questions that must be asked about these policies are considered. Both pieces are lucid reasonably balanced analyses. Without overly partisan ardor,[41] they examine some of the assumptions underlying decentralization and community control, the philosophical implications and long-run social and political significance of the issues raised, and some of the evidence available for testing the empirically verifiable assumptions. These analysts weigh pros and cons with reasonable objectivity, though both conclude on balance sympathetic to these approaches. Both appear to be somewhat persuaded of the moral and political force behind the demand for community control, but at the same time one senses that to both writers the ultimate criterion of policy viability must lie in the realm of empirical testing. Compared to the writers of the advocacy literature, the sympathies of these two policy analysts are tied to a more limited set of expectations about the empirical effects to be expected from these policies.[42] These analyses are useful sources of insight into material covered in the historical, advocacy, philosophical, and empirical research categories, and provide a degree of balance and critical intelligence found only occasionally in the remaining literature.

* * * * *

The decentralization/community control literature is addressed to a wide range of questions. We make no pretense at comprehensive treatment of all of them in this attempt at a synthesis of the literature. Instead, we have focused on those few questions we view as most critical to understanding and assessing the effectiveness of decentralization and community control as approaches to educational reform: What was involved in these strategies that made them such a radical policy departure from previous efforts at educational reform? What did advocates assume to be the determinants of educational failure? What causal processes were assumed to be at work in these strategies that could reverse such failure? To what extent were these assumptions substantiated by field research on decentralization and community control in operation? We shall explore these questions in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

THE DECENTRALIZATION/COMMUNITY CONTROL RATIONALE

The controversy over school decentralization and community control caught educators and government officials by surprise when it emerged with a rapidly developed, full-blown rationale and a large force of activist proponents. With hindsight, however, its roots in the intellectual and social history of the early '60s become clear, and both the rationale and the organizational sources of its advocacy seem predictable. It is a fascinating piece of intellectual history and suggests the potent manner in which ideas and events can interact with explosive consequences. Had the issue been defined somewhat differently, a broader range of policy options might have been debated, a more flexible political environment might have surrounded the questions, and the form and substance of implemented policies might well have been different. One can assume further that a different definition of the issues would have led researchers to a somewhat different research agenda for testing the viability of the proposed policy options, and it is this research agenda that is our primary concern. It is therefore important for us to review the manner in which proponents of decentralization and community control diagnosed the problem in need of solution and how their diagnoses affected what followed. We will attempt to trace their arguments in some detail.

The reform strategy we have oversimplified as "the" decentralization/community control approach included a number of closely intertwined threads that were subscribed to in various degrees by different parties. What began as simply a call for "decentralization" was soon thereafter clarified as meaning "decentralization with community participation." And for those demanding the most sweeping and fundamental changes, "community participation" was soon transformed into meaning "community control." Decentralization, participation, and control involve different emphases in the particular elements in the problem situation diagnosed as critical to reversing educational failure. But the essence of the argument has been consistent from the outset, and these different emphases may be viewed as representing a logical progression in the decentralization/community control rationale.

The argument usually begins by pointing to evidence of widespread academic failure in large city school systems. Such evidence is available in large quantities. Using reading scores as minimal measures of performance, there are large numbers of city neighborhoods where students tend to score two, three, or more years below national norms,[1] and fall further behind these norms with each year they spend in school.[2] And each year, schools in these neighborhoods tend to show a declining level of performance (e.g., the second grade in one year scores an overall mean or median lower than the school's second grade the year before).[3]

Poor school-wide performance is almost always correlated with the low socioeconomic status of neighborhoods.[4] And given the distribution of incomes and ethnicity in large cities, this tends to mean neighborhoods in which residents are primarily black, Puerto Rican, or Mexican-American. Educational failure, then, is primarily a problem involving nonwhite minorities.

For more than a decade, the fashionable explanation for this failure had been a diagnosis of cultural deprivation. The student's home and community environment were blamed for his poor academic performance.[5] This diagnosis served as a comfortable rationale for the compensatory education efforts that occupied educational reformers' attentions in the early and mid-'60s.

In the decentralization/community control rationale, however, this diagnosis was indicted as a particularly virulent form of institutional racism, and compensatory programs were sweepingly dismissed as "more of the same" old approaches that had been failing all along.[6]

The new approach located the source of the problem in the school system and its personnel rather than the child and his family. Proponents of the new approach called for consideration of factors that represented a radical policy departure. The reformers focused their concern on a set of policy variables primarily directed at changing the school system rather than changing the child. They assumed that the student's failure was the result of system malfunctioning. To reverse that failure, they argued, the reforms needed were basically organizational, administrative, political, and ultimately social in nature, and only secondarily of a strictly "educational" kind.[7]

DECENTRALIZATION

In the decentralization thread of the rationale, school system malfunctioning was assumed to be basically a problem of inadequate adaptability and responsiveness. According to this argument, the schools are not responsive to the needs and interests of a population that has changed in recent decades, as more and more low-income blacks and Spanish-speaking families have migrated to the large cities, and more and more middle-income whites have moved from the cities to the suburbs.[8] (Of course, the schools may never have been responsive to the interests of low-income urban populations -- whether those populations are defined as the working class of the nineteenth century, the immigrants at the turn of the century, or the more recent black and Spanish-speaking migrants.[9] However, the manner in which schools tried to meet the needs of low-income populations was not an issue in this country until questions of race and poverty captured national attention in the '60s.)

What is notable about this aspect of the rationale is the assumption that the kinds of programs, staffing policies, and the like that will reverse educational failure exist and are known but are not being implemented. The problem, then, was not conceived as one of lack of knowledge about how to improve the academic achievement of low-income students -- a view many would question. Instead, it was defined in terms of the system's resistance to innovation. In the case made for decentralization, this inability to innovate was attributed to two factors: the large size of big-city school systems and their bureaucratization and attendant insulation from political influence. Size and bureaucracy were assumed to be focal points of leverage in this diagnosis of the problem, and therefore the key policy inputs to be altered in order to reverse school failure.

Size

The assumption that bigness is bad is hardly new in American social and intellectual thought. It has long been assumed that large size is detrimental to organizational efficiency, to the satisfaction of employees who work in such organizations, clients served by such organizations, or citizens who reside in large governmental units.[10] Larger units, it is assumed, are more difficult to administer, and have larger, more cumbersome bureaucracies that interfere with efficient and responsive functioning. In large governmental units, the population tends to be more heterogeneous than in smaller units, and therefore, it is argued, present more diverse and conflicting interests, making it more difficult for government officials to be responsive to their constituents. Beyond that, larger organizations present greater difficulties in developing and maintaining effective communication. And finally, it is assumed, people feel more distant from the governing structure in larger units. They feel there is less chance of influencing authorities through participation, and so they participate less, and feel less attached to the system.

In the decentralization rationale, then, large district size was assumed to have a number of undesirable effects: inflexibility and minimal innovation or adaptability to community needs; less parent and community participation; less parent and community knowledge and understanding of the schools; less satisfaction with the schools; and lower student achievement levels.[11]

Bureaucracy

The single factor most extensively discussed in the early advocacy literature is bureaucracy rather than size. The mid-'60s studies of Marilyn Gittell and David Rogers have become classic statements of this element in the problem diagnosis, and the decentralization rationale draws heavily on these analyses.[12]

The educational failures of the schools, according to these writings, are due in reality to the political and administrative failures of large city school systems. These systems have become overcentralized, overbureaucratized, and overprofessionalized. The school system is essentially a closed political system. The policy process is limited to a small elite of bureaucrats at central headquarters. Access to this inbred elite is restricted by procedures determined by that bureaucracy. The members of this small elite head overspecialized agencies that have vested interests in preserving their authority over particular areas of educational policymaking and maintaining the status quo in the policy areas where they function. The result is fragmentation of the policy process and a lack of innovation. The kinds of educational innovations needed to adapt to the needs of minority students are not being adopted because such changes are interpreted by headquarters bureaucrats as contrary to their interests. Inevitably their own career interests are put ahead of the interests of the system's clients (i.e., the students and their parents). Regardless of who serves on the Board of Education and who is appointed Superintendent of Schools, the results are the same. The determining factors are the structural constraints and the cultural traditions and codes of the system.

These analyses then go on to examine the role of external change agents (e.g., the mayor, civic group leaders, business leaders) who, it is charged, have abdicated the role they once played in influencing the educational policy process. They have bowed to the professionals' argument that educational decisions are basically technical in nature and require specialized expertise. This insulation, once hailed as needed reform to separate education from machine politics, is reinterpreted in these writings as a basically middle class reform that functions to maintain the middle class hold on the system. Political insulation of the system, continues the argument, keeps middle class bureaucrats secure and promotes educational policies that are effective only for middle class students. Meanwhile, low-income minority-group students (who comprise the majority of the school population in several large cities) continue to lose ground. The diagnosis is one of bureaucratic pathology, i.e., a "sick" bureaucracy that is incapable of reforming itself.[13]

The solution called for was decentralization of the powers of the central system bureaucracy. It is important to distinguish this form of administrative decentralization from community control, for in most cities where decentralization has been implemented or has been under discussion it is only administrative decentralization rather than community control that is involved.[14]

Administrative decentralization involves a shift of some decisionmaking authority from system professionals at central city headquarters to system professionals at local district headquarters. It does not necessarily involve any transfer of authority and power from system professionals to the lay public and its elected school boards, which is variously described as "political decentralization,"[15] "neighborhood government,"[16] or, more generally, "community control."

Administrative decentralization by itself was expected to have a number of positive consequences: the end of the power and eventually the size and centralized functions of the pathological bureaucracy at system headquarters; greater responsiveness to local needs in the form of personnel and curriculum innovations; and increased parent and community satisfaction with the school system.[17]

However, more than simply administrative-organizational reform was involved from the outset. Even if one ignores for a moment the radical changes inherent in community control, the decentralization rationale (in all its varied forms) and decentralization proposals (in all their seemingly infinite variety[18]) always assumed, implicitly or explicitly, a greater community role in educational decisionmaking.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Usually, the call for decentralization with "community participation" (rather than community control) referred to greater influence and more active roles for such external change agents as the mayor, civic organizations, business leaders, and the like. "Participation," then, was defined primarily as elite participation, used as pressure on educational decisionmakers. The form of change expected to follow from this elite participation was greater system innovation and responsiveness. And the new elements that were expected to restore confidence in the schools were: first, the innovations that would suggest to the public that the system was capable of reforming itself; and second, the perception that the public's leaders had access to, and influence on, educational decisionmakers who were willing to listen and to act.

But decentralization with "community participation" involved a form of grassroots participation as well, with assumed psychological consequences of critical importance to the unfolding logic of the decentralization/community control rationale. Parent involvement in school affairs was argued to be a necessary ingredient of system reform -- to reverse the debilitating psychological effect of the power imbalance between professionals and parents, its influence in turn on home and community climate toward the school, and the ultimate effect this was assumed to have on student motivation and school climate.

Proponents of decentralization and community control argued that the system as then functioning suffered from an imbalance of power between school professionals and laymen.[19] As described in the Bundy Report,[20] professionals dominated school system decisionmaking despite the lip service given to the principal of lay control over education.

> Often the right of the layman to an account for professional performance, while given lip service is in effect nullified by challenges to his competence to inquire into what are considered basically professional affairs.[21]

On the individual-school level, the consequence of this power imbalance was described by Miriam Wasserman as producing a topsy-turvy status system. The child was the lowest person in the status system, and the parent was the lowest adult in the status system, "an outsider to the educational process called in either to be told what the school is doing or to serve as an instrument in the school's control over the child," rather than as "an authority to whom school personnel would be responsible."[22]

The argument then goes on to identify feelings of powerlessness and alienation as a consequence of this status system, of the inability of parents to significantly influence system professionals, and of parents' perceptions of lack of school responsiveness to their children's needs. The city Board of Education is too "distant" from parents, and, even more critical, local system personnel are inaccessible. The bureaucracy seems "faceless," channels are lacking to air grievances, and so, grievances build into major conflicts perceived in terms of villains and conspiracies. The school comes to be seen as an alien institution run by "them" and working against "us."[23]

Parents' feelings of alienation are then assumed to have destructive effects on the learning environment of the child. As described in the Bundy Report,

> in New York City, parents are blocked from playing a fully effective role in the educational enterprise by the absence of ready channels of responsibility between the school system and the public. Their distance from the center of the education process in turn affects the school and neighborhood climate for learning.... There is an intimate relation between the community climate and the ability of public education to function effectively.... Within the environment, parents and neighbors shape the child's attitude. If peers and family regard the school as an alien, unresponsive, or ineffective institution in their midst, the child will enter the school in a mood of distrust, apprehension, or hostility. If, on the other hand, the community regards the school as an agency in which

> they have an investment, with which they can identify, which acknowledges a responsibility for pupil achievement -- in short as their own -- children will enter the school with positive expectations.[24]

Parents and school professionals work against rather than with each other, and in the process valuable energies are used up that could better be invested in improving education.

What was needed, then, was a new school-community environment. Attention to school-community "climate" appears in the writings of two groups of analysts: both those who described the proposed reforms in terms of meeting educational needs and leading to educational outcomes -- e.g., higher achievement levels; and those who viewed the conflict environment surrounding the schools in terms of political needs -- e.g., system survival.

Participation to Meet Educational Needs

The educational argument was stated most clearly in the Bundy Report, significantly titled Reconnection for Learning. This document described the proposed decentralization as a "liberating force" intended to reverse the atmosphere of alienation and distrust, providing a structure in which "all concerned" can have "more constructive power ... so that contact with each other will center on cooperation, instead of suspicion or recrimination." "The first step toward renewing the system is to provide a means of reconnecting the parties at interest so they can work in concert." The energies that had been "consumed in assessing the blame" for failure would now be liberated, would become positive "constructive" energies, and would bring about "a new respect, a new engagement, a new responsibility."[25]

The new interaction would, it was expected, lead to the generation of new ideas for solving educational problems, provide a setting of greater willingness to experiment with innovations, and provide greater flexibility and adaptability for the system.[26] (In some of these writings, adaptability and innovation are assumed to be so important that they are judged the most important traits of a school district[27] and the key to the solution of the problem of large-city educational failure.[28])

The "reconnection" was assumed to then overcome parent hostility and alienation and create a positive attitude toward the school in home and community and a stake in the reform rather than the replacement of the public school system. These positive attitudes were assumed to be transmitted to children in the form of higher expectations of school success and stronger motivation to achieve. The consequences, it was believed, would be student behaviors that contributed to a positive learning environment and, ultimately, higher academic achievement levels.[29]

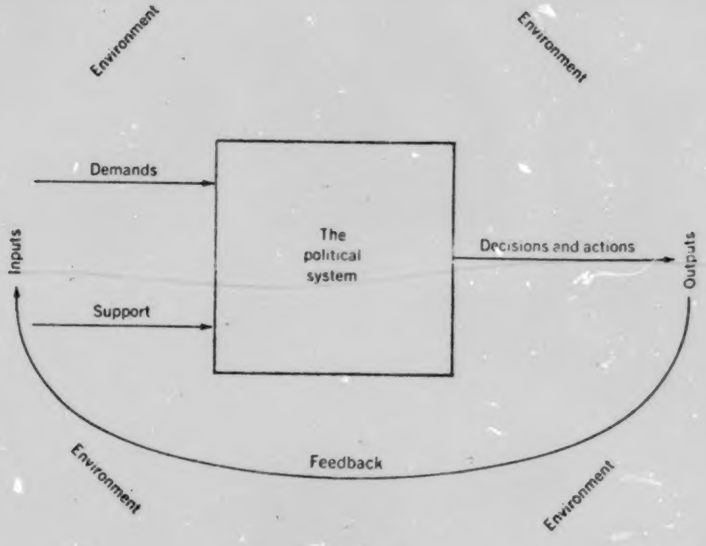
A number of elements should be underscored in this educational argument for attention to grassroots parent participation and to parent and community attitudes toward the school. First, it rested on assumptions about the psychological effects of participation or lack of participation on parents. Participation was believed to be causally related to attitudes toward the schools. Second, the argument assumed that parents' attitudes were transmitted to their children and in turn influenced student attitudes and behaviors. Third, the argument gave a significant place to student attitudes as causal factors in explaining achievement levels.

Participation to Meet Political Needs

A somewhat different approach to the attitudinal environment of the schools was provided by political systems theory, an analytical approach concerned with understanding how systems respond to stress and adapt so that they can persist in one form or another.[30] It has become increasingly commonplace in recent years to describe school systems as political systems (or subsystems), and to use systems theory for analyzing the politics of education.[31] It is helpful here in understanding some of the political dimensions of the educational argument. And it is especially useful for understanding the metamorphosis of the community participation rationale into the theoretical underpinnings of community control.

The starting point of this political argument is the same parent and community alienation and hostility described in Reconnection for Learning. However, whereas the educational argument was concerned with the effects of this attitudinal climate on student attitudes and achievement, the political argument focused on its effects on the schools as a political system. The political dimension of the conflict-oriented climate was its draining effect on the system's capacity to perform its essential functions and thereby survive.

A brief digression into political systems theory would seem helpful to explain the political argument. Political systems analysts conceptualize a system as interacting with its environment as depicted schematically below:



Systems outputs (e.g., academic achievement) affect the environment and have a feedback effect into the system along with other influences from that environment. The feedback loop affects two types of politically significant inputs: the demands made upon the system (e.g., for new educational programs to meet particular needs); and the level of support for the system and its personnel.

When system outputs are viewed with favor by vocal elements in the school's environment and there are no other disturbing influences from the environment, the level of system support is sufficient to enable the system to function without undue concern over school-community interactions. And in such a satisfactory setting, the level and types of demands made on the system can be processed readily without stressing the system.

However, the situation in New York City (and presumably elsewhere) was not so sanguine. The history of the New York City school controversies can be understood as an increasingly severe erosion of system support, or what is described in the systems literature as a legitimacy crisis.

Legitimacy is the most critical form of system support. The literature discusses two kinds of system supports: specific supports generated by feedback from particular system outputs that are beneficial to segments of the public (e.g., support that is an outcome of high achievement levels in middle class schools); and a more diffuse form of support that can be thought of as a general halo effect from the specific supports. System legitimacy is the form of diffuse support of most interest to us. It is tied to emotion more than to fact, reason, or specific system outputs. It includes such feelings as: an attachment to the system, a belief that its decisionmaking authority is appropriate or proper, that its actions and decisions are right, and that one should comply with these decisions even if you disagree with a particular decision, oppose a particular individual in a position of authority in the system, or think the system is ineffective.

Legitimacy exists as a reservoir of support that has been built up over a long period of time and may exist for a while independent of the specific supports the system derives from its functional effectiveness. However, when system effectiveness has been waning and legitimacy is not buttressed by any other sources of support, a legitimacy crisis is in the making.[32] As it unfolds, attachment to the system declines, the decision-making authority of system officials is challenged, and compliance with official decisions is no longer taken for granted.

In New York City, the school system's legitimacy crisis began simply as distrust,[33] and was directed at specific individuals.[34] It broadened into attacks on fundamental principles of system functioning and challenges to the basis of authority of system personnel.[35] And ultimately, it was launched into a full scale attack on the legitimacy of the system and a demand for its radical restructuring.[36]

When the legitimacy of a system is seriously enough undermined, its personnel become so absorbed in efforts to alleviate tension that vital resources are drained from the system's essential functions. Unless something is done to restore legitimacy, the system is eventually immobilized.

This is precisely what was happening in New York City between 1966 and 1969. School principals and the staff of district offices and the central Board of Education repeatedly complained that educational problems were forced to take a back seat to more pressing political problems, i.e., dealing with those who no longer supported the system. The level of demands became so great that the system suffered from what is described in the political systems literature as a demand overload, made worse by the debilitating effects of support stress.[37] If the system was to persist, an essentially political response was needed to meet the concerns of the disaffected, expand the system's capacity to channel and process demands, reduce demand intensity to more manageable levels, and restore system legitimacy.

The decentralization, community participation, and community control strategies can all be understood as essentially political responses that were open to system decisionmakers. Each, however, reflected a different emphasis in identifying the sources of community disaffection and in defining the basis of a new system legitimacy.

In both the decentralization and community participation approaches, declining support was assumed to be a response to the continuing poor quality of system outputs -- beyond a point that could be tolerated by the system's reservoir of diffuse support (i.e., its legitimacy). In the decentralization rationale, innovations that were responsive to local needs were expected to renew public confidence in the system's ability to reform itself and thereby restore system legitimacy.

The community participation strategy assumed the same, but added more to the argument. Alienation was assumed to be a consequence of several feelings: that the public's leaders had neither access to, nor influence on, educational decisionmakers who arrogantly ignored community wishes; that system personnel were distant and inaccessible; that the school was an alien institution that treated parents as outsiders; and that school personnel did not really care about community residents or their children. It was expected that renewed legitimacy would be generated by the visibility of new channels created to give community leaders access to educational leaders and influence on their decisions, and the affective ties produced when parents themselves were able to participate more actively in school affairs and work together with school personnel in cooperative endeavors.

Community control carried the logic of the rationale considerably further. It extended the meaning of "innovations" and the implications of "responsiveness." It interpreted more fundamentally and radically the meaning of "participation " and therefore the outcomes to be expected from participation. And the call for community control injected a number of new considerations into the rationale, derived from a context broader than the school-community environment alone, with ramifications expected to significantly change the pattern of black-white relations in American society (and, to a lesser extent, the relations between the white majority and all nonwhite minority groups).

COMMUNITY CONTROL

The political argument for system reform assumed that the schools were suffering a severe legitimacy crisis. Whether the erosion of system support had reached this point in the feelings of the general public is a moot point, and one that we shall consider in a later chapter.[38] However, for the vocal minority which promoted, intensified, and persisted in the demand for community participation and ultimately community control, the issue of school effectiveness would seem to have been only part of the story.

Defenders of the school system frequently argued during these years that the attacks on the schools were the result of forces external to the schools themselves -- that the schools were simply a convenient, vulnerable target. And this would seem to have been at least partially true.

The political systems model is particularly valuable for the manner in which it underscores the importance of "disturbances" from the environment and how they may affect demands and system supports, irrespective of the feedback loop from system outputs per se.

Several such environmental disturbances could be noted, and all of these were critical to shaping the form and substance of the community control demand. Underlying the New York City school controversies, it would seem, were many of the same forces that explain attacks on institutional authority in a wide range of contexts. In form, many of the questions at issue were somewhat similar to those raised in recent years by student unrest at the high school, college, and graduate school levels; by the efforts of many ghetto residents to gain control over institutions that affect their lives; and by middle class protests against unresponsive bureaucracies that control vital social services.[39]

Or perhaps, if there were forces external to the schools generating the attack, they reflect the transition to another stage in ethnic succession in city governance. The struggle may simply indicate the vocal emergence of a new elite of minority-group leaders eager to supplant the previously dominant ethnic elites (e.g., the Irish and the Jews) in what had long been one of the first steps out of poverty, i.e., the school and social welfare bureaucracies.[40]

Or perhaps, the controversies represented just a localized version of a world-wide phenomenon, the resurgence of ethnic solidarity and separatist sentiment.[41]

Whatever the initial impetus, the forces unleashed by the attacks on the school system took on a life of their own during these controversies, independent of their origins. Dissatisfaction with school system outputs merged with other sources of disaffection, and increasing numbers of people came to view the schools in political as well as educational terms. A vocal segment of the population came to redefine the functions of schools to include a broader range of system outputs than student academic achievement alone. Attention was devoted to students' affective education, especially as it related to their racial group identities, self-perceptions, and orientations toward group and community action to bring about social change. And too, the school came to be expected to serve as an institutional base around which to build community solidarity, transform the world-views and participatory behaviors of community residents, and mobilize political power to further community political, economic, and social development.

To those who held such a broad set of expectations about school outputs, reform proposals restricted to purely educational matters chould not be satisfying. As described by Charles Hamilton in what has become a classic statement of this position, those who viewed the situation in political terms were not interested in making the institution function more effectively along currently accepted lines. For these people, a sudden rise in school achievement levels, for instance, would have little effect on restoring legitimacy to the system.

> The experts must understand that what is high on the liberal social scientist's agenda does not coincide with the agenda of many black people. The experts are still focusing on the effectiveness of existing educational institutions. Many black people have moved to the evaluation of the legitimacy of these institutions.[42]

It was this political definition of the issues and increasing cognizance of its implications that changed the terms of the debate and the political environment in which it took place. So long as a broad coalition of reform interests had assumed that the ultimate objective of decentralization was increasing school system efficiency and effectiveness, what David Cohen had described as a "politics of common interest"[43] was possible. The city's civic and political leadership had joined with civil rights leaders and other minority community spokesmen in support of a system reform they assumed would reverse academic failure. Even the teachers' union, soon to become the arch foe of community control, had been active in urging and early planning for a system decentralization intended to open the educational policy process to community participation, albeit primarily elite rather than grassroots involvement.

As the center of gravity in the debate shifted from institutional effectiveness to institutional legitimacy, however, the "politics of common interest" broke down. As interests came to be defined increasingly in terms of class and race, much of the liberal white leadership found itself in an uncomfortable position. For their former allies now labelled them the enemy. From a view of themselves as selfless defenders of the victimized and oppressed, they heard themselves described as victimizers and oppressors motivated by a pernicious though perhaps unconscious self-interest.

The transition came about by a shift in the black definition of oppression from an individual and personal level (i.e., prejudiced bigots, rednecks, and the like) to a more abstract societal and impersonal level (i.e., social stratification and institutional racism). To understand the community control rationale, its implications, and why it polarized the climate in which it was debated, we must examine the view of the American social and political order that fueled it.

According to this view, the failure of the schools to meet the needs of the poor and nonwhite was not strictly a matter of a particular institution that had gone amuck. Rather, it reflected a broad sweeping pattern of institutional functioning determined by the structure of our society and the political order that maintains it. The schools simply reflect and serve that political and social order, permitting it to remain essentially stratified and racist. So long as low-income minority groups are powerless and unable to control the institutions in their communities, those who run such institutions can continue to ignore their interests.

The argument draws on the burgeoning new field of the politics of education and proceeds as follows: Until the last decade, the view was widely held that politics and education were separate domains.[44] However, political factors have long been implicit in the functioning of educational systems. Recent policy discussions have brought this fact to the fore and underscored the extent to which educational systems have served to maintain the existing pattern of social stratification.[45] The schools, it is charged, have socialized students to a value system that supports the existing stratification.[46] And educational attainment has functioned as part of a system of social control, with school personnel making authoritative decisions that vitally affect individual life-chances.[47] The extent to which this authority has been exercised legitimately was unquestioned until recently. That authority, the argument continues, has always operated in a manner that had political implications, giving support to the existing pattern of social stratification. However, so long as these political implications were not a subject of controversy, they were considered apart from politics. What has changed is that the existing pattern of stratification has become a subject of controversy, along with the values and the educational system that maintain it.

In the last ten years, the nation has become preoccupied with questions of race and poverty. Stratification took on significance largely in racial rather than purely socioeconomic terms. The poverty that captured national attention was primarily black or nonwhite poverty, rather than poverty in general. And while stratification came to be discussed in terms of race, analyses of the causes of racial inequality came to reflect the perspectives of stratification theory. The concept of institutional racism was derived from this amalgam.

The development of the concept of institutional racism reflected the change in the target of black militancy from the South to the North. As Northern blacks assessed their positions in their own communities, their liberal white friends appeared more implicated in the Northern black man's plight than any Mississippi redneck. For while his white friends provided the movement with funds, expertise, power, and status, the black man was dependent on them and was not forced to develop his own resources. Even more critical, the liberal white friends of the civil rights movement tended to be the men who controlled the very institutions that kept the black man in his place in Northern cities -- the unions, the political clubs, the schools, the businesses. And while these individuals were presumably free of personal prejudice, their organizations continued to function in a manner detrimental to the interests of the black man, because of the histories, traditions, procedures, and principles that determined their patterns of operation. The "rules of the game" were so powerfully directed to protecting the interests of those who had already attained positions of dominance in these institutions that they systematically excluded whole groups such as blacks.

The charge of institutional racism implied an indictment of the white liberals for behaving at home as insidiously as the bigots whose behavior they condemned in the South. And black demands for compensatory justice made explicit the threat to the positions of Northern liberals.

The call for community control was troubling to white liberals, then, for the change it reflected in political strategies and alignments. It implied a rejection of white liberals as partners in any civil rights coalition and a repudiation of coalition politics -- "failure of the politics of common interest" described by Cohen.[48] It suggested a redefinition of group interests and a turning inward of the black community, a separatism that explicitly rejected the integration for which white liberals felt they had fought so hard. And it suggested that blacks and white liberals would find themselves as antagonists.

The call for community control was also troubling to white liberals on another level, for it repudiated many of the basic premises of liberal social and political thought. When tied to charges of institutional racism and demands for compensatory justice, community control implied a rejection of the liberals' emphasis on individual rights and liberties and substituted instead group-based conceptions of rights and justice.

As suggested in Leonard Fein's incisive analyses,[49] it represented a denial of the liberals' belief in a melting pot American society of individuals rather than groups. It accepted what liberals had long ignored, the existence of ethnic groupings in our society (i.e., the hyphenated Americans -- Italian-American, Irish-Americans, and the like, as well as Black- or African-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and others). The community control theory not only called attention to the existence of these groupings as social reality -- empirical fact -- but accepted the emergence of a community consciousness based on ethnic ties as a perfectly valid basis for a social order.

Community control was translated from social into political theory by tying the conception of "community" (i.e., an affective, nonrational attachment to an identity group) to a demand for a redistribution of political power. According to this view, the community of attachment should have control over those institutions, such as schools, that enable it to maintain its existence as a culture (or subculture) and further its interests. Community control is needed, then, to permit the uninhibited functioning of cultural pluralism and competing value systems.[50]

If we try to understand the school controversies from this framework, then the legitimacy crisis of the schools reflected a clash between an emerging community consciousness and an institutional and political structure that was viewed as working against "community" interests. This "community" consciousness represented so fundamental a rejection of the premises of the old political order that in terms of political theory it could be likened to a return to a pre-contract state of nature -- a setting requiring the creation of a new basis for legitimacy and a rewriting of the "rules of the game" governing relations among groups in our society.

The source of disaffection in the legitimacy crisis, then, was not simply institutional ineffectiveness but rather "the defective nature of the social contract between black and white America,"[51] and between ghetto communities and their institutions. With the breakdown of "the politics of common interest" and return to a condition analogous to the pre-contract state of nature, a new, legitimate order had to be created and a new social contract forged between this legitimate order and its institutions. The community control theory pointed to the basis of this new order: the theory's fundamental premise is that the source of authority for all decisions that affect the fundamental interests of the community resides in that local community and is vested in governing bodies elected by local residents to represent their interests. Redistribution of power between school professionals and community residents, then, was a necessary precondition for a legitimate order capable of stemming the system's legitimacy crisis. A new sense of community would be generated and reinforced by the community's control of its institutions, and this sense of community would provide a new basis for legitimacy.

Translated into concrete operational terms, the redistribution of power between school professionals and community residents meant changing the lines of professional accountability in school system functioning.[52] Differences in accountability relationships are critical to the distinction between decentralization and community control. The distinction can be illustrated by examining how the New York City school system functioned prior to decentralization and the changes implied by the concepts of administrative decentralization and community control.

The New York City school system is so large[53] that even under centralization it was divided into local districts for administrative purposes. Each district was administered by a district superintendent who was accountable to the city Superintendent of Schools and ultimately the city Board of Education. Each district had an appointed lay school board with only advisory functions. The local boards had no authority in any areas of school decisionmaking and tended to have little or no influence.[54] No lines of accountability ran to or from the local school boards: there was no way by which they could be held accountable to their local communities, nor were school professionals who were employed in their districts accountable in any way to the local boards. The district superintendents were simply administrative officials: they had no policymaking powers and tended to make no decisions of more than an administrative nature. Policy powers were centralized at the city's school system headquarters.

Administrative decentralization implied some changes from this pattern. Instead of all policy decisions being made centrally, many areas of decisionmaking would be shifted to district superintendents and their staffs at the local level.[55] What decentralization would not change, however, were the basic lines of authority and accountability. District superintendents would still be accountable to the city Superintendent of Schools rather than to any local school board, and the local boards had no powers that permitted them to make important decisions[56] or to hold their district superintendent or any members of their district staff accountable for their performance. Since the district superintendent was accountable to authorities at the central rather than the district level, it was inevitable that any conflict between local and central interests would be resolved in favor of the preferences of the central bureaucracy.

Community control sought to correct these weaknesses by shifting power not simply from one level of the system bureaucracy to another, but also from system professionals to a local governing body of laymen. Authority is assumed to reside in the governing bodies elected by local residents. A community school board is viewed as accountable to community residents, who can express their approval or disapproval of board performance at open meetings and through other channels, and ultimately by reelecting or rejecting individual school board members. Although in reality it is assumed that some centralized authority over the school system will remain, according to the theory of community control local boards are expected to have decisionmaking authority in such critical areas as personnel, curriculum, budget, and contracting.[57]

Of all these areas, control over personnel is viewed as most important by both community activists and the public. Control over recruitment, hiring, tenure, promotion, and dismissal are considered the basis of accountability and a crucial source of organizational change. It is assumed that organizations change when they are so structured that critical personnel become different either because they change their ways of functioning to meet the expectations of new authorities to whom they have now become accountable,[58] or because those who do not meet such expectations are replaced by new personnel who do meet (or promise to meet) such expectations. If the district superintendent is hired (and may be fired) by the community school board, and if he is held accountable for his actions to the community board rather than to any central authorities, then, it is expected, he will assert vigorously the desires of the community he serves and fight for what they have defined as their interests. Since school personnel are accountable to community boards, they are therefore likely to be sympathetic and sensitive to local needs and demands. Community control, then, increases system responsiveness and ultimately, it is expected, system effectiveness.

At the level of parent interaction with personnel on the local school level, Miriam Wasserman has described the effects of this kind of accountability on changing the locus of power in the system, forcing professionals to subordinate their status interests to the interests of the child and the demands of his parent.

> Thus, from being an outsider to the educational process called in either to be told what the school is doing or to serve as an instrument in the school's control over the child, the parents would become an authority to whom the school personnel would be responsible. And the school personnel would answer for their performance, not at each hierarchical level to the next hierarchical level, each further removed from the child and from the educational

> process, but at each hierarchical level to representatives of the parents or community. Such a changed line of responsibility would presumably affect both the relative weight given administrative versus educational considerations and also the status of parents and children vis à vis school personnel. And since schools' evaluation of the worth and the educability of poor non-white children seems to underlie their failure in respect to those children, the status shift would presumably affect the schools' performance in respect to the children.[59]

The results of this power redistribution were expected to be far-reaching, with outcomes that ultimately reached beyond the schools into their communities and into the relationship between these communities and the broader society. In much of the writing on community control, this redistribution of power is viewed as a starting point toward the development of ethnic solidarity and a sense of community that would have positive psychological effects on residents by improving their self-image and pride, their sense of efficacy, and therefore their "organizability." The schools would become "the agent for transforming the ghetto into a community " and serve as a "nucleus for a community power base" for community development that would eventually provide minorities with a fair share of the benefits of American society: a fair share of political representation and the benefits of political decisions; a fair share of jobs in the bureaucracies that administer government agencies; a fair share of the contracts made by government agencies, and thereby a fair share in community economic development within American society.[60]

Community control, then, is viewed as an instrument for social change, or, in the lingo of educational research and development, an intervention strategy to promote social (as well as educational) change.[61] It is assumed in these writings that community control will produce a group consciousness, a community identity, a psychological state, infusing the thinking of the broad mass of community residents and then in turn affecting their behaviors (as presumably it had already shaped the thinking and actions of community leaders).

THE POLITICAL NATURE OF THE DECENTRALIZATION-COMMUNITY CONTROL APPROACH

What must be underscored to grasp the significance and consequence of these arguments is the vast difference between the decentralization/community control approach and the kinds of proposals that had previously constituted educational reform. Educational reform as an essentially technical matter, aimed at making the educational enterprise more efficient in performing its traditional role and producing its traditionally defined outputs, lost center stage to what was clearly reform of a political nature. This is true even if we ignore the elements in the theory that involve non-school changes -- i.e., the expected effects on community economic and political development.

The causal forces expected to bring about educational change and improvements in school performance were essentially political rather than "educational." Basic to the decentralization/community control rationale was the assumption that political changes (i.e., changes in the power relationships in system governance) were prerequisites to significant educational change -- that a change in the structure of school governance was necessary before the kinds of changes needed in the classroom would be permitted; that unless the structure of control and accountability were changed, system professionals would subvert and destroy the effectiveness of any proposed innovations; that widespread educational failure was attributable to resistance to implementing innovations (a political problem) rather than to inability to develop innovations that effectively reversed educational failure (a technical educational problem).

Decentralization would permit increased responsiveness by eliminating the power of the central system bureaucrats who, it was charged, had blocked needed innovations. Community control would further insure responsiveness by transferring ultimate decisionmaking authority from system professionals (whether on the district level or at central headquarters) to governing bodies elected by community residents. Political change, then, was a prerequisite to system responsiveness, and presumably increased responsiveness would lead to improved school performance.

In the decentralization argument, the explanation of how political change produced improved achievement ended here: the effect operated entirely through the intervening variable of system responsiveness. Community control was premised on a considerably more complicated theory. It assumed a greater number of intervening variables between the political changes and their ultimate effect on school achievement levels, made infinitely more complex by an inextricable web of interactions within the network of intervening variables.

As an educational theory, community control assumed the political and social climate in which schools functioned to be a critical determinant of student achievement. On the one hand, this meant the climate within the schools as indicated by interaction among teachers, students, administrators, and the like. On the other hand, it meant the school-community climate -- i.e., the political environment of the school and school district as indicated by interaction among community residents, school board members, and school personnel.

Both school climate and school-community climate were assumed to be affected by the political changes produced by community control. The power redistribution and changes in the lines of professional accountability placed new pressures on the behavior of school professionals. These pressures were expected to influence the way professionals perceived and interacted with students, parents, and other community residents. Within the schools, a climate more conducive to learning would be created by changes in teacher expectancies and demands which, in turn, would affect student attitudes, self-concepts, and behaviors. The key to developing a more supportive school-community climate was assumed to be the restoration of community confidence and trust in school personnel. This was expected to follow from growing community awareness and appreciation of the more salutary climate within the schools and even more directly from improved relationships between school professionals and community residents. And since parent and community attitudes were presumed to have important effects on students' attitudes and behaviors, improvement in school-community climate was expected to have an important feedback effect on the climate within the schools. School-community climate, then, was believed to both influence and be influenced by the climate within the schools.

The complexity of the theory is derived in part from the number of variables involved and the manner in which they interact and mutually reinforce each other. A further problem is posed by the nature of many of the variables themselves. The theory leans so heavily on the realm of the psychological -- "climate," attitudes, self-concept, confidence, trust, and the like -- that grasping what is meant in concrete operational terms is difficult. The political changes assumed by community control are believed to be important only partly because of what they mean in terms of changes in who exercises what powers and how this should change the policy process and ultimately policy outputs. Equally important are the expected psychological consequences -- for teachers, whose new attitudes will make them teach differently; for parents and community residents, whose new attitudes will be transmitted to students; and for students, whose new attitudes will affect their thinking and behavior, particularly their achievement-related behaviors. The main point that must be emphasized here is the causal role which attitudes are assumed to play. Political changes and their effects on school operations and community participation in school affairs produce psychological effects which, in turn, produce the outcomes desired by community control advocates.

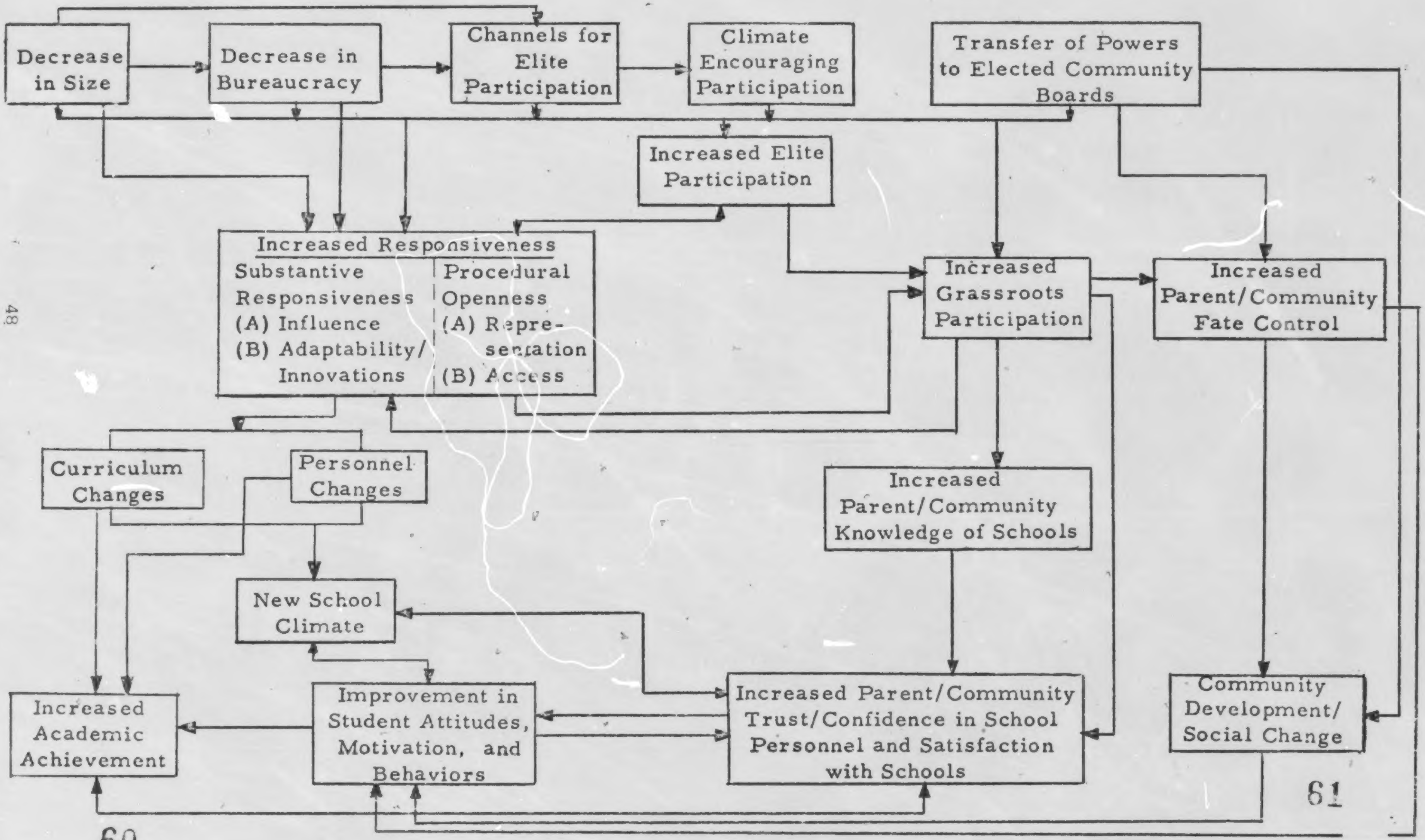
THE CAUSAL MODEL UNDERLYING THE DECENTRALIZATION/COMMUNITY CONTROL RATIONALE

The more closely one pursues each set of assumptions and its linkages to other assumed causal chains, the more cognizant one becomes of the complexity of the decentralization/community control rationale. To simplify our analysis, we have abstracted the causal chains implied in the literature and depicted them schematically in Figure I. Each box in the diagram should be understood as an oversimplified representation of a set of complex ideas.

The causal assumptions begin with the changes in school district organization and pattern of school governance represented at the top of the diagram. Simple administrative decentralization is depicted by two changes: decrease in district size and decrease in bureaucratization. The coupling of administrative decentralization with what we have discussed as the community participation strategy is represented by two additional inputs: creation of channels for elite participation and a climate that encourages community participation. Community control should be understood to include all of these inputs as well as a fifth, transfer of powers to elected community school boards. The diagram is intended to present the underlying logic of the decentralization/community control rationale as a

FIGURE I

CAUSAL MODEL UNDERLYING DECENTRALIZATION/COMMUNITY CONTROL RATIONALE


Decrease in Size
Decrease in Bureaucracy
Channels for Elite Participation
Climate Encouraging Participation
Transfer of Powers to Elected Community Boards
Increased Elite Participation
Increased Responsiveness
Substantive Responsiveness
(A) Influence
(B) Adaptability/ Innovations
Procedural Openness
(A) Representation
(B) Access
Increased Grassroots Participation
Increased Parent/Community Fate Control
Curriculum Changes
Personnel Changes
Increased Parent/Community Knowledge of Schools
New School Climate
Increased Academic Achievement
Improvement in Student Attitudes, Motivation, and Behaviors
Increased Parent/Community Trust/Confidence in School Personnel and Satisfaction with Schools
Community Development/ Social Change

whole, carried to its logical conclusion in the theory of community control. But it should be understood as built up from the somewhat separable components of that logic: the arguments for simple administrative decentralization, for decentralization with community participation, and for community control.

Beginning with the inputs defining administrative decentralization, the diagram traces the effects assumed to follow from decreasing district size and bureaucratization. Small district size is expected to affect school functioning by facilitating greater system responsiveness. Smaller districts tend to be more homogeneous in population. The number of needs to be considered is fewer, and needs are likely to be less diverse and less conflicting than in larger districts. It is therefore easier for system officials to be sensitive to local needs and to adapt programs and policies to meet those needs. The result is expected to be greater innovation and adaptability as manifested in curriculum and personnel changes. Over a period of time, programs and policies tailored to local needs are then expected to produce achievement gains which,along with the confidence generated by observing system innovation, should increase parental satisfaction with the schools.

These assumptions about size are tied inextricably to other assumptions about bureaucracy. In order to permit the size factor to have its expected effects, the power of central system bureaucrats to block needed innovations had to be weakened. The second defining input of the decentralization approach, then, is the transfer to the district level of the policy powers previously monopolized by the closed elite of central-system bureaucrats. This is expected to increase system responsiveness for a number of reasons: the district administrators are assumed to be free of many of the vested interests that conditioned the central bureaucrats' resistance to innovations. Their closeness to the local scene is expected to enable them to identify needed changes more effectively. The smaller size of any district-level bureaucracy and the removal of layers of bureaucracy between local needs and policy determination are expected to enhance the effectiveness of communication, increase the efficiency of operations, and provide the degree of flexibility called for if innovative policies are to be developed and implemented. Therefore the causal assumptions we traced for the size factor -- smaller size leads to greater responsiveness in the form of curriculum and personnel changes which, in turn, lead to gains in achievement -- are, in fact, assumptions dependent on the joint influence of decreases in both size and bureaucratic influence.

The reduction of district size and bureaucratic influence are also assumed to have political effects. Smaller more homogeneous districts pose less of a threat of a demand overload that can paralyze the decision-making process. With the risks lessened, there should be less reluctance to provide channels for community access to school personnel. And with fewer layers of bureaucracy to contend with, the creation of smooth functioning access channels should be an easier task. Therefore, decentralization should, at least theoretically, produce both an atmosphere more conducive to an open policy process and perhaps also establishment of formal or informal channels that permit greater access. These changes could, in turn, be expected to lead to increased community participation and all the positive effects assumed to follow from this.

When administrative decentralization is combined with the community participation approach, these potential political effects are expected to be realized and to then, in turn, produce important further effects. The community participation approach assumes new system inputs: mechanisms that permit some degree of community involvement and a new climate that legitimates and encourages such participation. The result is expected to be a significant increase in elite participation at both the central-system and district levels. This increased elite participation is expected to produce fresh ideas and greater pressures for needed changes and, in turn, a considerably higher level of system innovation and adaptability than was to be expected under simple administrative decentralization alone.

Not only would the amount of innovation be different, but perhaps too the types of innovations. Community involvement might mean the articulation of new kinds of demands. Personnel changes, for instance, might come to mean not more specialized professionals, but new kinds of personnel hiring policies -- e.g., not more reading specialists but more black or Spanish-speaking teachers, or personnel scrutinized less about academic credentials and more about their expectations and attitudes toward their students. More elite participation, then, was expected to mean greater system responsiveness and ultimately greater gains in achievement.

More elite participation was also expected to lead to greater grass-roots participation. This would be stimulated by the new climate encouraging such participation, the provision of more channels for participation, and the perception of increased responsiveness to community participation. With more parental participation, it was believed, parents would develop greater understanding of the school program, become aware of the effort being made to respond to students' needs, develop more trust and confidence in school personnel, become more satisfied with the schools, and be more supportive of school personnel. These attitudes would then be communicated to their children, whose attitudes and behaviors would, in turn, become more achievement-oriented. In the long run, achievement gains were anticipated.

What community control added to all this was a critically different psychological climate and the power to force some of the changes that only might come about from the kind of pressures injected into the system by the community participation approach. First, community control was expected to change the relationships between the local community and the larger society and also the local community and its institutions. These changed relationships would further the community's economic and political development, which meant in individual terms new jobs, new roles, and new power. As significant as were these changes in themselves, of perhaps even greater significance in the community control theory were the anticipated psychological consequences. These actual changes in power and control were expected to increase community residents' sense of control over their environments, the fate control variable that has been the subject of so much discussion and research since the publication of the Coleman Report.[62] This changed view about the efficacy of effort was then expected to be conveyed to students. Their achievement-related behaviors would then be affected and ultimately their academic performance. The assumed causal chain, as depicted in Figure I, can be summarized as follows: objective community control leads to parent/community sense of control, which is conveyed to children, who then manifest a sense of control, which leads to changes in their achievement-related behaviors, and ultimately gains in achievement.

The community control theory also hypothesizes other paths to achievement gains. A second assumed path is through a more fundamental, more far-reaching, and more certain system responsiveness than could be expected from the decentralization and community participation approaches. With elected community representatives wielding the power to insure that school functioning reflected community wishes, professionals would be unable to ignore, resist, or circumvent local demands. School personnel would either adapt their practices and programs to community wishes or find themselves replaced by new personnel. And since community school board members had to stand periodically for reelection, board members not only had to try to insure that community wishes were implemented, but also try to make their efforts in the community's interests more visible. This would mean opening and using more access channels for community residents. Perhaps, too, it might mean searching for innovative programs that would convince their constituency that the board was indeed making a difference and bringing improvements to the schools.

New programs and personnel were expected to produce a new school climate more conducive to learning -- a new respect for students and their parents; higher expectations for their success; greater demands made on them; and teaching practices that encouraged, excited, and stimulated learning. Inevitably, it was assumed, this would mean changes in student attitudes and behaviors and, in the long run, gains in achievement. As depicted in Figure I, the assumed causal chain went from power redistribution and changed lines of accountability to system responsiveness in the form of curriculum and personnel changes, producing a new school climate, leading to changes in student attitudes and behaviors, and ultimately to increased achievement.

A third assumed path to educational improvement is through the effects of increased grassroots parent participation. While elite participation on community school boards and in pressure roles is assumed to be critical to producing system responsiveness, grassroots participation is even more central to the psychological dimension of the decentralization/community control rationale. Critical to the theory is the assumption that parent participation levels can be significantly increased by the very changes implied by this approach to educational reform: decreased district size and bureaucratic influence, increased availability of channels for participation, creation of a climate that encourages participation, changes in power relationships sufficient to suggest the efficacy of participation, and increased system responsiveness to reinforce this sense of efficacy. Participation is expected to have a number of effects on parents: it brings them into contact with school personnel and overcomes some of the alienation and distrust bred by inadequate communication. It therefore increases their confidence and trust in school personnel, because of the intrinsic satisfactions derived from the participation and contact, and because of the increased familiarity and understanding of the schools, which is a further source of satisfaction. This more positive view of the schools and school personnel is then conveyed to their children. This, in turn, affects children's attitudes and achievement-related behaviors, which in the long run produces gains in achievement. The assumed causal chain, in short, as depicted in Figure I, is from the changes in district organization and power relationships to increased parent participation, to increased trust and satisfaction (both directly from the act of participation and indirectly through the intervening variable of increased understanding), to changes in student attitudes and behaviors, to gains in academic achievement.

The community control theory assumes, then, that school achievement is determined by a number of situational factors, all of which are positively affected by the establishment of community control. But it would be a mistake to assume that increased academic achievement was the only desired goal of community control proponents or even that it was the objective they considered most important. As discussed earlier in this chapter, to those who came to view the schools in political terms, greater importance was attached to other changes depicted here: changes in students' attitudes and self-concepts, in school climate, in school system responsiveness, in community participation, in parent satisfaction (i.e., in creating school conditions that parents would find more satisfying), and in furthering community development. As depicted in Figure I, these changes should be understood as ends in themselves as well as intervening variables assumed to be necessary preconditions for realizing such other goals as increased academic achievement.

IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

The decentralization/community control rationale is so complex, and the objectives so all-encompassing and yet diffuse, that the strategy can be understood to be what Weiss and Rein have described as a "broad aim social program."[63] The intent of such a program is to change a situation, a context in which individuals function. The concern is primarily with social change and only secondarily with individual change.

To assess social change, researchers must direct their attention to aggregate-level variables. This might require operationalizing and measuring such "structural" variables as "openness" or "responsiveness" that describe certain qualities of a situation or context. Or, this might require aggregating individual-level data to indicate how individuals in one context tend to differ from individuals in another (e.g., participation level, achievement level, satisfaction level), and to determine the size of the "contextual effect" (i.e., the extent to which the aggregate-level effect of a variable on the individual is greater than the individual effect alone, as for instance the case of school SES having a stronger effect on academic achievement than the effect of individual SES alone).

To determine whether a broad aim social program "works" -- i.e., whether it achieves its objectives -- the researcher must operationalize and measure program inputs and then determine the extent to which these inputs have indeed produced the hypothesized outcomes.[64] To determine the effectiveness of decentralization and community control, then, one must begin by determining the extent to which the defining inputs of these strategies have been implemented in a given site and the extent to which this differentiates such sites from nondecentralized, non-community-controlled sites. More specifically, this requires measures of what we have discussed as size, bureaucracy, channels for elite participation, climate encouraging community participation, and transfer of powers to locally elected school boards. And further, it requires comparable data from nondecentralized, non-community-controlled sites.

Measures of expected program outcomes could then be related to program inputs. If it were possible to conduct a well-designed, large-scale evaluation, relatively free of the political constraints on experimental or quasi-experimental treatment, then outcome measures could be related to levels of program inputs. This would mean at the very least experimental-control comparisons. More ideally, it would also mean varying inputs quantitatively (e.g., district size) and/or qualitatively (e.g., different arrangements for institutionalizing community control). Findings from this kind of research would enable policymakers to assess the validity of the assumptions underlying the decentralization/community control approach to educational reform and the effectiveness of these strategies in operation. Moreover, with a reasonably large-scale systematically designed research program, accumulated data can shed light on the relative effectiveness of different policy options for implementing the strategies and how these vary in different school-community settings.

As of this writing in 1973, no such large-scale well-designed evaluation program has been conducted to develop the kind of data needed to assess the validity of the decentralization/community control rationale. There is, however, an important body of empirical research on the outcomes of these strategies in at least some of the sites where they have been implemented. We consider these studies in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH ON POLICY EFFECTIVENESS

The most valuable segment of the decentralization/community control literature presents the findings of field research on the impact and effectiveness of these policies in operation. Regardless of their limitations, these studies provide the best available data for testing the causal model assumed by the decentralization/community control rationale. It would seem useful, then, to review this model and then to turn to the data.

As depicted schematically on page 48, the model assumes that the decentralization/community control strategy has a number of consequences. At the very least, it is expected to change the school governance process, to increase the role of the community in that process, to make school professionals more accountable to the community, to increase community participation in school affairs, feelings of community access and influence in school affairs, and trust in professionals' competence and concern for their students.

These changes in school governance are also expected to affect school functioning. School policies, it is believed, will become more responsive to the needs and desires of community residents. Especially in curriculum and personnel policies, this increased responsiveness is assumed to produce administrative adaptability and innovation. All these changes are then assumed to create a more positive learning environment in the schools, more positive student views of themselves and their abilities, and ultimately, gains in academic achievement.

In place of the alienation and hostility parents directed at the schools prior to the change in governance, the outcome for parents is expected to be increased satisfaction with the schools. Over the long run, all these changes are assumed to interact to increase parents' sense of efficacy, build community solidarity, and produce jobs and school contracts that contribute to community economic development. And in some ill-defined way, the attitudes and behaviors of community residents are expected to be transformed toward a participatory style that can be mobilized to develop community power bases and further community development.

The list of expected outcomes is extensive, and the lack of specificity with which these outcomes are described in the literature complicated the measurement problems faced by researchers. In general, the selection of outcome measures was approached reasonably. The measures used were in some cases better, and in very few cases worse, than those generally used in research of this kind.

The most serious limitations of these studies is in their design. Few of the studies involve any form of comparison or control. The outcomes measured are assumed to be the consequence of decentralization or community control, but a number of alternative explanations are usually equally plausible. In some of the cases where comparative data exist, serious doubt is cast on the extent to which the outcomes measured can be attributed to these policies. In a few cases, the data hold up reasonably well even when subjected to tests of design and inference. However, even here, if we press beyond questions of size of impact to search for the causal mechanisms involved, the data raise more questions than they answer.

In this chapter, we will examine the published reports of field research in decentralized and community controlled schools and districts. We will attempt to evaluate and summarize the available data on each of the major outcomes expected from these changes in school governance.

Beginning with those questions that appear to be methodologically the simplest to answer and proceeding to others that are more complex, we will analyze first the published evidence on academic achievement levels. We will then proceed to examine the data on student attitudes, school climate, administrative flexibility and responsiveness, community participation in school governance, professional accountability to the community, and community satisfaction with the schools.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Proponents of decentralization and community control assume that the changes produced by these forms of governance will ultimately produce an increase in school achievement levels. Research addressed to testing this assumption would seem to be methodologically a simple task. There is an extensive battery of standardized achievement tests available for the researcher to choose from and to administer. And making the task even simpler, most large school systems administer some of these tests as part of normal school operations. Consequently, the researcher can simply gather data from the school system's testing program, and can draw upon data from prior years of testing for baseline measures.

Design would also seem relatively clearcut. One could simply use a form of 2 X 2, before-after, experimental-control group design of the type represented schematically below.

	Before	After
Experimental Group		
Control Group		

The design assumes that the researcher compares scores on a standardized achievement test prior to the change in governance with scores on the same test after the change. And to control for factors other than governance that may have changed over time (e.g., a citywide change in reading curriculum), before and after scores in the experimental schools are compared with similar scores for control schools. The control schools are carefully selected to resemble the experimental schools or districts as closely as possible except for the decentralized and/or community controlled pattern of governance. There are always problems of finding comparable control schools in such research: one never knows if the matching has been done on the most relevant characteristics. Still, acceptable control-group choices can usually be made.

Despite this apparent simplicity, researchers would have to concern themselves at some point with the validity and the implications of what they were undertaking. Researchers who thought seriously about this kind of study might well be reluctant to use standardized achievement tests or to use any measures to assess achievement gains during the early years of these projects.

Debate on the validity of standardized tests to measure intelligence or achievement has been going on in educational circles for years.[1] Clearly, intelligence involves a broader range of abilities than those measured by such tests, and certainly academic achievement includes more than reading and arithmetic. However, it also seems difficult to deny that these tests are fairly good indicators of success in school, for nonwhite as well as white children, and that if schools cannot improve students' capabilities on the skills tapped by these tests their students will have difficulties in academic work.[2] So long as these tests are interpreted within the confines of what they legitimately do indicate, are used to evaluate projects where gains in traditionally-conceived academic achievement are among program objectives,[3] and until equally reliable and perhaps more valid measures are developed, approaching the research through use of standardized achievement test scores seems eminently reasonable, and these measures have indeed been used in the field research.

A second concern, however, is more difficult to reason away. Given the complexity of the causal mechanisms assumed in the decentralization/community control rationale to affect achievement, it seems unreasonable to expect to find significant gains in achievement within only a few years. Researchers who are concerned about the political uses to which their findings may be put are wary about undertaking research of his kind. They are well aware that their findings can be misused to justify ending a project because it has not significantly affected achievement after two years, though conceivably the results would have been different if the research had been conducted after, let us say, five years. Since none of these projects were in existence for more than three years when they were evaluated for impact on achievement, and one study compared achievement data after only one year of decentralization,[4] these data must be interpreted with great care. Even if the time period covered by these evaluations were longer, the political histories and legal constraints on the community control ventures were such that there may be cause to question their validity as tests of community control.[5]

Having made these qualifications, we can turn to the available data. Only five studies presented achievement data. Two of these are Center for Urban Education evaluations of community controlled schools, C.S. 133[6] in the I.S. 201 district and the Morgan School in Washington, D.C. In the ICS report Demonstration for Social Change, an extensive amount of reading data is presented for C.S. 133. Reference is also made in this report to some districtwide data for the I.S. 201 and Two Bridges districts.[7] The Ocean Hill-Brownsville district did not participate in any citywide testing programs, and consequently there are no available data on achievement in these schools during the three years of their demonstration status.[8] However, in an article in Commentary magazine, Diane Ravitch refers to data comparing the Ocean Hill-Brownsville schools before and after their demonstration district status. Ravitch also makes implicit comparisons between the Ocean Hill data and scores for New York City, the borough of Brooklyn, and ghetto schools generally.[9] Additional achievement data are discussed by Melvin Zimet in his Ph.D. dissertation, an evaluation of the first year of decentralization in one predominantly low-income nonwhite New York City school district (District 7 in the South Bronx).[10]

All five studies reported (or referred to) achievement measures from standardized tests administered by the relevant city school systems as part of their regular testing programs.[11] All employed some form of comparison for control purposes. Schematic representations of the designs used in these studies are depicted below. In some of these studies, the designs are only implicit [12] and the data presentations are incomplete.[13] However, the extent to which comparative design was attempted is noteworthy, for overall these studies employed the best designs in the field research on decentralization and community control.

CENTER FOR URBAN EDUCATION
EVALUATION OF GATTEGNO PROGRAM IN C.S. 133[14]

	Baseline Data 1967-1968	Year 1 1968-1969	Year 2 1969-1970
C.S. 133			
I.S. 201 District			
New York City			

CENTER FOR URBAN EDUCATION EVALUATION OF THE MORGAN SCHOOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.[15]

	Baseline Data 1966-1967	Year 1 1967-1968	Year 2 1968-1969	Year 3 1969-1970
Morgan School				
Washington, D.C.				

ICS PRESENTATION OF C.S. 133 DATA IN *DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE*[16]

	Baseline Data[17]	Year 1	Year 2
C.S. 133			
District 4 Norms[18]			
National Norms			

ICS PRESENTATION OF DATA FOR I.S. 201 AND TWO BRIDGES DISTRICTS IN *DEMONSTRATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE*[19]

	Unspecified Baseline	1968-1969
I.S. 201 District		
Two Bridges District		
New York City		
National Norms		

RAVITCH COMMENTARY ARTICLE ON OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE SCHOOLS[20]

	Before Demonstration District Status 1966-1967	One Year After 3 Years of Demonstration District Status 1970-1971
Ocean Hill-Brownsville		
New York City		
Borough of Brooklyn		
Ghetto Schools		

ZIMET Ph.D. DISSERTATION EVALUATING DECENTRALIZATION IMPACT IN DISTRICT 7[21]

	Baseline Data 1965-1970	Decentralization Year 1 1970-1971
District 7		
New York City		

The achievement studies are addressed to a critical element in the decentralization/community control rationale. They provide a fairly large body of data and employed the clearest measures as well as the best designs in the field research. However, the picture they provided is inconclusive. All grades in C.S. 133 in the I.S. 201 district and the fourth grade of the Morgan School showed dramatic improvement in performance.[22] However, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district and the sixth grade in the Morgan School declined in tested achievement.[23] The I.S. 201 and Two Bridges districts continued to perform at about the same levels, but notably this stable pattern was manifested during a period in which citywide achievement declined.[24] After one year of decentralization, District 7 in the South Bronx showed a stable pattern of no change in achievement, but the citywide mean showed a decline,[25] and decentralization was implemented citywide.

Could we have expected more consistent findings? Perhaps not, given the histories of these projects and their variability. The significance of that variability is that it is difficult to specify exactly what is causal and what is peripheral in the complex of interacting variables assumed in the decentralization and community control rationale. And similarly, it is difficult to know what aspects of these projects are attributable specifically to decentralization or community control.

Considerably more might have been learned if more complex research designs had been employed. Unfortunately, the question of concern to researchers in these studies was simply whether or not these projects showed gains in achievement. Given this limited objective, perhaps it was reasonable to use simple pre-post impact designs. However, the simplicity of these designs also limited their potential payoff in useful information.

Even if the data had permitted us to determine the amount (if any) of pre-post achievement gains, we would not be in a position to explain why this had occurred. In a program involving a single somewhat unitary input (e.g., a new technique for teaching reading), the why explanation is a simple matter: if the only change in the experimental setting is the single input, gains can be attributed with reasonable confidence to that change. However, when the change involves a complex of interacting variables such as those assumed in the decentralization/community control rationale, the why explanation is far more difficult to arrive at.

No effort was made in these studies to deal with the confounding of variables, to determine specifically which changes explained the effects on achievement. Although some descriptive data about the projects were included in some of these reports, no systematic effort was made to relate specific program inputs to the achievement data. In the case of the dramatic gains made in C.S. 133 after the introduction of the Gattegno curriculum and teaching approach, are the gains to be attributed to the Gattegno method, to the community control form of school governance, or to both since it was the I.S. 201 governing board that was flexible enough to adopt this innovative approach? Are the achievement gains equally great when the Gattegno approach is tested in schools that are comparable to C.S. 133 except for the community control form of governance? Is it possible to even conceptualize schools that are "comparable to C.S. 133 except for the community control form of governance" given the extensive ramifications that form of governance is assumed to have on school climate, community climate, personnel, student attitudes, and the like? Is it possible to separate and estimate the independent effect of the Gattegno approach, on the one hand, and the cluster of other effects we can attribute to community control, on the other?

Similar questions could be addressed to each of the other settings in which achievement was studied. The causal mechanisms assumed by the decentralization/community control rationale are so complex and intertwined, and the factors that could account for variations in achievement levels so numerous, that even if the findings on achievement were more consistent, the design inadequacies of these studies would leave us unable to explain our results. Although it may seem unfair to try to separate elements that community control advocates regard as something of a seamless web, policymakers need specificity about what causal mechanisms are responsible for what effects of what magnitude. If virtually all of the achievement gains at C.S. 133 were attributable to the effectiveness of the Gattegno approach and it was interpreted instead to be due to "community control," other community control ventures that did not include the Gattegno approach might be unable to replicate the achievement gains and leave policymakers at a loss in explaining the inconsistency.

STUDENT ATTITUDES

The decentralization/community control rationale assumes that the more positive school and community climate produced by community control will improve student attitudes about themselves and their abilities and reverse what are assumed to be the debilitating psychological effects of more typical ghetto schools. There is only one published study addressed to determining the impact of community control on student attitudes. This research was conducted by Marcia Guttentag of City University and was published as a chapter in the ICS report, Demonstration for Social Change.[26] As described by Guttentag, her intent was clearly to relate measured attitudes to the community-control status of the I.S. 201 school district she studied and to interpret the measured responses as representing a change from the attitudes her sample would have expressed in the absence of community control.

> What was of particular interest in the present study was whether experiences in the community school district had changed students' attitudes. Were students less hostile to school environment? Did they have more of a positive academic expectancy for themselves? Had the years they spent in the community school district given them more of a sense that they could succeed? Did they have a stronger belief in the utility of community action? Did they have a stronger sense of racial pride?[27]

The measurement problem for this research was relatively simple. There is an extensive literature on children's expectancies, and numerous attitude scales are available. The design question, however, was more complex. To be able to attribute the measured attitudes to community control, some control-group comparison would seem necessary. Some baseline attitude data on the school district prior to community control would have been helpful to establish the fact of attitude change. Or, if the general pattern of attitudes described in the literature for a similar population is accepted in place of baseline data, comparative data from a non-community-controlled but otherwise similar district would still seem essential. Community control is one of many current forces that may be producing significant attitude changes in the black community today. Without control-group comparison, it is difficult to know whether attitude changes are to be attributed to community control or to these other broad cultural forces. Ideally, then, field research of this kind should have had both baseline and control-group comparative data, or at the very least the control-group comparison.

Analysis of Guttentag's research suggests that her sampling procedures, the indicators used in her measurement instruments, and the conditions under which they were administered were (with one exception we shall get to shortly) methodologically sound. Age-graded versions of an attitude questionnaire were administered to a randomly selected sample of fifth, sixth, and seventh graders in three of the five schools in the I.S. 201 district. Questions were read aloud so that responses would not be confounded by students' reading difficulties. The questionnaire items were taken from standardized attitude scales that have been used widely in research on children's expectancies.[28]

The results were impressive. In contrast to the usual findings for ghetto children, these students had a strong sense of efficacy in controlling what happens to them in their lives and changing what happens in the world, and a strong sense of personal responsibility for their academic successes coupled with an unwillingness to blame themselves for failure. Most significant is the reported belief, increasing with age, that though one's lot in life may not always be controllable by personal actions, one's achievement in a school setting does reflect individual effort rather than chance or luck. This contrast between their expectancies inside and outside the school setting is impressive. Guttentag speculates, quite reasonably, that this is probably attributable to "the new atmosphere induced by community control of schools."

However, the conclusion that these positive attitudes are to be accounted for by the experience of community control may or may not be warranted. No baseline data on the I.S. 201 students were available and no control group was used. Instead, Guttentag compares these findings to "what is known about typical expectancies of ghetto children." Unfortunately, most of the research on children's expectancies predated the black power and black pride movements and it seems reasonable to assume that administration of these attitude scales today would reveal a more positive pattern of expectancies than those found in studies prior to 1966 or so. Therefore, without some control-group comparisons it is difficult to attribute this positive pattern of attitudes to community control rather than to broad cultural forces at work in the black community.

A second design weakness may or may not be a problem, but to assess its seriousness we need information that is not presented in the published report. The questionnaires were administered in the last week of school to all students present in randomly selected classes. It seems reasonable to surmise that the last week of school is atypical in attendance, with students who are less positively integrated to the school environment more likely to be absent. The published study provides no data on response rates and gives us no information to assure us that the students who completed the questionnaires are representative of their classes. The timing of the questionnaire administration may actually have biased the results in favor of the positive attitudes assumed by the decentralization/community control rationale.

Still, the contrast between students' expectancies inside and outside the school setting is impressive and raises important questions that, unfortunately, we are unable to answer. Are these positive changed attitudes attributable to community control, and if so, what are the specific changes involved in community control that produced this impact? Is it the assumed new school climate in general? new personnel? changed attitudes or expectancies transmitted by school personnel? a new community climate about the schools? new attitudes transmitted by parents? How different are all these elements in community-controlled districts from those in non-community-controlled districts? Are they methodologically separable so that independent effects can be estimated?

SCHOOL CLIMATE

Questions of school and community climate bring us to research questions with more complex measurement problems. The ICS group has reported, on the basis of observers' impressionistic evidence, that there is a new, more positive school climate in the community-controlled projects.[29] Although there seems little reason to doubt the validity of these impressions -- in fact, it would be very surprising if these experiments did not produce positive school learning environments -- we are provided with little in the way of specificity to grasp what this means in operational terms and therefore no way of determining just how different these schools are from others. Nor do we have data, hard or soft, over a long enough time period to assess whether what has been observed reflects fundamental changes or simply the Hawthorne effect* that seems to show up inevitably in the early years of demonstration projects, especially those created as these were under conditions of fanfare and controversy.

Among the attributes of this new school climate mentioned or implied in the reported observations are new student eagerness to learn, greater teacher commitment and enthusiasm,[30] more positive expectations of students' abilities, more flexibility and adaptability in administering the schools and within classrooms, a more receptive attitude toward (and greater accessibility to) parents and community, a sense of accountability to the community, and a relationship of mutual respect between school personnel, on the one hand, and students and community, on the other.

Operationalizing and measuring such attributes is a complex problem that might have required extensive conceptual work and costly time-consuming cycles of design, field-testing, and revision of instruments. Or, available instruments on teacher-student interaction, teaching styles, teacher attitudes and the like might have been employed.[31]

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*The Hawthorne effect, discovered in a series of studies conducted in the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company, is defined by Kerlinger as follows: "Almost any change, any extra attention, any experimental manipulation, or even the absence of manipulation but the knowledge that a study is being done, is enough to cause subjects to change. In short, if we pay attention to people, they respond." Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research: Educational and Psychological Inquiry (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964), p. 318.

Whatever instruments were used, a minimal design would have required a comparative study of decentralized and non-decentralized school systems and/or community-controlled and non-community-controlled districts. Baseline data on these districts would also be helpful, but clearly more difficult if not impossible to collect unless new sites of experimentation with decentralization or community control could be located. If the "new school climate" is to be attributed to community control, then at the very least it would seem essential to determine how the attributes that define this climate are distributed in decentralized and otherwise comparable non-decentralized systems, community-controlled and otherwise comparable non-community-controlled districts.

The measurement problem was not handled adequately in the available field research. Instead of trying to operationalize these amorphous qualities, the two researchers who have dealt with this at all tried to find available indicators that could serve as proxies for direct measures of climate. Both Parsons in his ICS publication and Zimet in his Ph.D. dissertation used the same set of indicators: student and teacher attendance, student suspension rates, vandalism statistics, and teacher and administrator requests for voluntary transfers.[32]

In generalizing about the thirty or so community controlled projects he examined, and in considering Ocean Hill-Brownsville in particular, Parsons reported an improved climate on every indicator: gains in student and teacher attendance, virtual elimination of student suspensions, decreased vandalism, and decreased staff turnover.[33]

In the South Bronx school district Zimet studied after one year of decentralization, the picture is less conclusive. There were either no significant changes or changes that were readily attributable to factors other than decentralization. He found no overall change in teacher absenteeism, which is a serious problem in the district, and only the slighest decline in student absenteeism. Suspensions showed dramatic decreases, but this reflected a changed policy toward suspensions rather than a change in the student behaviors that had previously led to suspensions, and the pendulum of community concern had now shifted from annoyance over suspensions to frustration over discipline problems. Vandalism rates declined, but Zimet attributed this less to school climate than to the installation of unbreakable glass and burglar alarms and changes in vandalism reporting practices that underrepresented breakage costs. Voluntary personnel transfers also declined, to the lowest point since 1967, but Zimet attributed this to the tightness of the job market for school personnel rather than to any changes in school climate resulting from decentralization.

It seems reasonable to surmise that at least some of these extenuating factors were also operative in the data presented by Parsons. For instance, we know that all three demonstration districts adopted a no-suspension policy.[34] Therefore, the dramatic decrease in suspensions mentioned by Parsons indicates only the change in policy, not a change in school climate. Overall, then, none of these indicators would seem to be adequate to the task of assessing the extent of change in school climate attributable to decentralization or community control.

In both studies, the design involves a pre-post comparison of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville or South Bronx schools with themselves. In Zimet's research the design is explicit, but even in Parson's it is there, implicitly. If what had been measured were more useful, perhaps the design would have been acceptable. However, in light of the measurement problems in this research, we are left with virtually no empirical data either describing the assumed "new school climate" or testing its relationship to policy inputs or expected consequences. Every question we might have raised about this new school climate is left unanswered. How different is the school climate in decentralized from non-decentralized systems, or in community-controlled from non-community-controlled districts? In terms of which attributes is it most different? What policy inputs account most for these differences? How strongly are each of the attributes of this new climate related to each expected consequence (e.g., changes in each of a number of student, parent, and community attitudes and gains in achievement)?

RESPONSIVENESS

The decentralization/community control rationale assumes that decentralized, and especially community-controlled school districts will be more responsive to local community needs than their centralized, non-community-controlled counterparts. They will be smaller, less bureaucratic, and, most important, they will be governed through a process involving a high level of community participation and greater professional accountability to residents. It is assumed, then, there will be a greater input of local demands, greater flexibility in meeting these demands, greater knowledge by policymakers of specific local needs, greater willingness to innovate to find new kinds of personnel and new curriculum programs, a new set of attitudes that requires concern for local needs, and ultimately the policies and practices that meet local needs and presumably increase school effectiveness.

In the research on school climate, operationalization may have been difficult, but at least conceptual definition was not. Researchers, we can assume, knew precisely what attributes of school climate they would have liked to measure, if only they had the instruments to do so. Measurement of school responsiveness is considerably more difficult. It is complicated by the ambiguity inherent in the concept itself. This is a very important matter that we shall return to in a later chapter. For the present, we shall simply consider the manner in which the concept was operationalized in the ICS field research and leave until later discussion of alternative approaches.

To establish responsiveness and attribute it to decentralization or community control, a comparative design would seem to have been essential. Baseline data on individual schools or local districts within cities are probably difficult if not impossible to locate, leaving the alternative of gathering always-suspect retrospective interview data. On a citywide level, there are baseline data in the form of decisionmaking studies and consultants' reports on such cities as New York, Chicago, Boston, Washington, D.C., and New Haven. And there is especially the six-city study by Gittell and Hollander specifically addressed to measuring and explaining differentials in school system responsiveness.[35] Even in the absence of baseline data, comparisons with non-decentralized or non-community-controlled schools and districts would not seem to be difficult, although clearly costly.

The design problem was not adequately handled in the field research. However, the descriptive data gathered in the available studies are valuable. They tell us much about these projects even if they do not enable us to deal conclusively with the critical question about responsiveness we would want to have answered.

Responsiveness is discussed in the decentralization/community control literature in terms of the intertwined notions of flexibility and innovation. A governing board or administrator is described as flexible if innovations are adopted with minimal delay and difficulty, and as innovative if flexible enough to adopt either a large number of innovations or a smaller number of innovations that involve significant changes.

Using flexibility and innovation as measures of responsiveness, the ICS researcher found the demonstration district governing board to be both flexible and innovative.[36] (The ICS judgment of the demonstration district principals was more complex. They were innovators within limits -- adopting flexible open approaches to parents and community, implementing innovations within their schools, although not as readily or as extensively as desired by some of their teachers -- but basically they were educational traditionalists.[37])

An extensive amount of descriptive data is used in the ICS reports to support the conclusion that the governing bodies of the community controlled projects were highly flexible and innovative. The number of innovations adopted and the comparative ease with which new programs got to be adopted are cited frequently in the literature. We are told, for instance, that the Gattegno approach was tested in the I.S. 201 district largely because of the ease and speed with which the governing board and principal were able to act on the proposal.[38] And since the Center for Urban Education had been looking for some time for a site to test the Gattegno approach, it seems reasonable to conclude that the I.S. 201 district did act more flexibly, quickly, and decisively in its consideration and adoption of the proposal than its non-community-controlled counterparts. The ICS research lends some added support to this conclusion by contrasting the ease with which innovations were adopted in the demonstration districts to the great problems and delay faced by teachers and parents who proposed use of the British Infant School Model in a comparable but non-community-controlled district.[39]

In terms of the number of innovative school programs adopted, these community-controlled projects were also quite impressive. The Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board adopted a long list of experimental programs -- some that were developed locally, others adopted fairly much intact from curriculum projects that had attained national prominence.[40] The I.S. 201 district adopted fewer curriculum innovations, but, nonetheless, a significant number.[41] Even the fairly conventional educational programs in the Two Bridges district included some innovations, especially greater emphasis on bilingual (English-Spanish and English-Chinese) programs.[42] Curriculum innovation also appears to have received considerable emphasis in the twenty-five or so other community control projects outside New York City publicized in the ICS publications.[43] Especially in some of the smaller-scale projects described by Parsons, parents were oriented toward innovative approaches and were particularly attracted to programs that provide individualized and "open classroom" approaches. Many of the new curriculum projects were also oriented toward cultural identification, involving programs of black history, Navajo culture, and the like.

In terms of the types of new programs adopted, also, some of the community-controlled projects were clearly innovative. Not only did these schools experiment with some of the programs creating the most excitement in non-traditional curriculum development -- the open classroom, the non-graded school, bilingual instruction, individualized programmed instruction, and the like -- but also moved into what were for these school districts totally new areas of school programming. The extensive health care and community information programs instituted by the I.S. 201 district are cases in point.[44]

Flexibility is also presented in the field research in terms of openness to new sources of ideas for curriculum change. One of the assumptions in the decentralization/community control rationale is that the lack of innovation in large, overcentralized, overbureaucratized school systems is a direct consequence of their insulation from outside influences. In contrast, the field research in the community-controlled districts suggests that there was an extensive amount of community input on curriculum policy and a productive cross-fertilization of outside influences. Evidence is presented of the extensive number of relationships some of the projects established with universities, foundations, consultants, commercial curriculum developers, and the like.[45]

In interpreting all these descriptive data on flexibility and innovation, we must face two serious design problems. One is posed by the obvious operation of the Hawthorne effect in at least the most prominent of these experiments. These districts were flooded with proposals from academics and commercial curriculum developers, and it seems reasonable to question whether the flow of novel ideas and interested funders and sponsors would have been as great if community control were implemented in more commonplace fashion. Demonstration projects always involve unnatural experimental conditions. Not only do outsiders express more support and interest, but those responsible for the success of the projects feel a special need to show momentum, progress, change, and success.

The ICS observers include in their impressionistic data specific references to the compelling manner in which this need was felt in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district.[46] They also acknowledge that the experimental status of the districts and the publicity they received acted as stimulants for changes.[47] The "special" conditions of these experiments, then, must be taken into account. Whatever estimates of innovation level we might arrive at from these experiments inflate to some unknown extent the amount of innovation we might expect to follow from implementing community control under more normal conditions.

A second serious design problem is the lack of control-group comparisons, the same weakness that pervades the ICS field research. Without control-group comparisons or any attempt at comparative analysis, it is difficult to justify the assumption that these community-controlled projects were more innovative than non-community-controlled districts or the conclusion that increased innovation is to be attributed to community control. Comparative data gathered in our own research under the sponsorship of the Center for Urban Education suggests that special "innovative" programs are commonplace in New York City schools, especially in black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods. A large portion of the school principals interviewed in a cross-section of New York City schools prior to decentralization and outside the community control demonstration districts were able to list many special programs in their schools instituted at their own or district initiative.[48] This should not be surprising. David Rogers in 110 Livingston Street indicated that the New York City school system has long been noted for its extensive patchwork of innovations. His critique was based not on the number of innovations so much as the piecemeal manner in which they were instituted and managed, avoiding fundamental systemic changes.[49] A similar critique of innovation in the demonstration districts was made by the ICS group in their own analysis.[50]

As for the small-scale, parent-initiated, parent-run ventures outside public school systems, described in the ICS publications[51] -- for instance, the East Harlem block schools or the Children's Workshop, they too must be appraised in relation to comparative data. And here the appropriate control group would seem to be equally small (fewer than 200 students) non-public enterprises rather than large city school districts. Small private or semi-private schools created and run by parents are not new to the educational scene in this country.[52] Such schools are, though, relatively new to low-income non-white populations. Clearly these schools are run flexibly and innovatively. However, we are severely limited in generalizing findings from such small-scale and relatively unique kinds of educational enterprises.

We may conclude that in general the governing bodies of both the larger and smaller-scale community control projects adopted numerous curriculum innovations intended to respond to the specific educational needs of their students. However, we are not justified in concluding from the available data that these projects were any more innovative than non-community-controlled districts or that increased innovation is an outcome to be attributed to community control.

If we consider for a moment school system decentralization rather than the community control experiments, there are three pieces of field research that present data on curriculum innovation. These are a six-city study of school system responsiveness by Marilyn Gittell and T. Edward Hollander, an ICS study of the first year of decentralization in New York City, and Zimet's Ph.D. dissertation on the South Bronx district during the first year of decentralization.[53]

The decentralization/community control rationale assumes that large centralized school systems are failing to educate their nonwhite students because they are governed and administered in a manner that prevents needed innovations from being adopted. What are needed to support this assumption are comparative data indicating low levels of innovation in large centralized systems and higher levels of innovation in decentralized systems. Or, the assumption could be substantiated by evidence of an increase in innovation in a system after it decentralized.

The data presented in the field research fail to support this assumption. For instance, Zimet's data on the South Bronx school district in the first year of decentralization indicate the presence of a large number of innovative programs, but most of these were begun by the district _prior_ to decentralization.[54]

Gittell and Hollander studied six city school systems with administrative structures reflecting various degrees of decentralization. They found the level of innovation to be low in all six cities and were unable to uncover any relationship between innovation and degree of administrative decentralization. Nor, interestingly enough, did they discover any relationship between innovation and school financing (fiscal dependence or independence) or such dimensions of administration organization as bureaucratization or staff insularity. However, factors that did appear to be related to innovation were the political milieu of the city and particularly the amount of community participation (defined as the amount of influence on the policy process exercised by groups outside the educational establishment).[55]

The positive findings about participation are as important as the negative findings about degree of decentralization. Unfortunately, the study suffers from a number of weaknesses. Although it represents an attempt to combine the case study and hypothesis testing approaches, the sample size is so small, the design so loose, and the measurement so rough that we cannot be confident of its replicability. The cities selected permitted certain kinds of comparisons: pairs of cities roughly comparable in size, differing in fiscal status; pairs of cities comparable in regional location, differing in fiscal status. Cities were ranked in a somewhat rough manner on each of the other variables: level of innovation, participation in the policy process, bureaucratization, insularity, and decentralization. However, the rankings are highly judgmental, the data are largely qualitative rather than quantitative, and the measures, while probably no worse than those generally used in this kind of research, seem less than adequate. Still, the findings are highly suggestive.

While neither the Zimet nor Gittell and Hollander studies supported the assumption that administrative decentralization should increase the level of innovation and presumably responsiveness, the ICS citywide study of decentralization presents a more complex picture. After one year of decentralization under New York City's version of a community school system, the ICS judgment of policy responsiveness varied across the city. Those few school districts that most closely resembled the pattern of governance established by the demonstration districts were judged to have the most innovative school boards. These boards instituted new programs. The overwhelming majority of districts, in contrast, continued to function as they had prior to decentralization. They continued old programs that may have been experimental and innovative but were instituted prior to decentralization. The district attributes that appeared to be related to innovation were high levels of community participation in the governing process and assertive school boards that fully used and expanded their powers and demanded professional accountability.[56] (Gittell and

Hollander's six-city study of school system responsiveness also reached a similar conclusion about the relationship between innovation, on the one hand, and community participation in school governance, on the other.[57])

Unfortunately, the ICS decentralization evaluation presents judgments without providing the reader with the comparative data on which the judgments are based. The report presents virtually no procedural information about what data were gathered. It would appear that the study covered all school districts in the city, but this is never stated explicitly. We are told that the staff examined 65% of available community school board meeting minutes for the year, observed 50% of all meetings, and interviewed more than 30% of all community school board members.[58] However, we are not told what questions were asked of school board members or what analytical categories were used in dealing with the information gathered about board meetings. Although the ICS conclusion makes intuitive sense and does not run contrary to our impressions of the functioning of large numbers of the school boards in the city, we have the uneasy impression that the coverage of school districts was uneven. And generalizations made from such uneven coverage may well be misleading. Great detail is provided about a relatively small number of districts. However, most districts are given scant attention in the report despite the fact that some rather interesting developments of clear relevance to the questions investigated are going on in a number of the districts. We are not persuaded that all the evaluative judgments made in the ICS report would hold up under a more complete examination (or perhaps even a more representative sampling) of the 31 districts. However, without a more complete presentation of the data gathered by the ICS researchers, we have no way of determining the validity of their generalizations.

Of all the policy areas where adaptability and innovation were desired by proponents of decentralization and community control, personnel policies were considered most critical. Reform writings had for some time been assigning a substantial amount of the blame for the educational failures of low-income non-white students to the insensitivity if not outright incompetence of school personnel.[59] Control of personnel policies was considered essential to rid the system of teachers and administrators who were either incompetent or whose insensitivity or low expectations for their students created an atmosphere that was not conducive to learning.

In recruiting personnel, decentralized districts, and especially community controlled boards, were expected to be particularly flexible and innovative. The evidence presented by the ICS researchers suggests that the demonstration district governing boards were successful in hiring a more varied range of personnel than characterized the staffs of most school districts.[60] Rhody McCoy was the first black man hired in New York City in a position equivalent to a district-level superintendent, and the district hired the first Puerto Rican and the first Chinese principals in the city. Compared to other districts, the teachers and headquarters staff hired by the demonstration districts governing boards were more likely to be black or Spanish-speaking, young, and male, and were more likely to have come from outside New York City, and from outside the ranks of professional educators. The ICS descriptions of the new staff members employ such phrases as "idealistic," "committed," "enthusiastic," and "dedicated." They also acknowledge that much of the staff was inexperienced and that this constituted a problem as well as an asset. What this inexperience underscores, however, is the great weight the governing boards attached to staff attitudes and their somewhat unusual under-emphasis of professional credentials.

The evidence overwhelmingly supports the conclusion that the governing boards succeeded in pursuing somewhat innovative hiring policies and succeeded in staffing their districts with personnel from an unusually varied range of backgrounds. However, the assumption that such findings would follow inevitably from the implementation of decentralization or community control does not seem warranted. There seems reason to question the extent to which many of the most atypical staffers would have been attracted to Ocean Hill-Brownsville, for instance, had it not become the symbol of a cause célèbre. It seems unlikely that we could expect equally unusual candidates for jobs in community controlled school systems if community control were to become commonplace in ghetto school districts. And clearly, as the ICS group acknowledges, the large number of young men attracted to teaching jobs in the district was to a significant extent in response to the Vietnam War and the draft.[61] There can be no question that the community control projects in New York City hastened the recruitment of nonwhite administrators and teachers in this city. However, it is also true that in such cities as Washington, D.C., Detroit, and Chicago,[62] these developments had been under way for many years prior to the emergence of decentralization and community control as issues. At the very least, though, if responsiveness is defined in terms of staff ethnicity in a city where minorities were underrepresented in the ranks of education professionals, then it seems reasonable to accept the findings that decentralization and community control did increase responsiveness to community demands.

It is assumed in the rationale that black and Puerto Rican teachers are more sensitive to the needs and learning styles of black and Puerto Rican children and therefore will be more effective as educators. The validity of these assumptions has not been definitively established. However, the governing boards of these projects acted on the assumption that staff sensitivities and attitudes were critical to the success of the project. They closely examined candidates for positions to determine their attitudes toward students and community and generally succeeded in hiring personnel who were committed to accountability, could establish community rapport, and had positive expectations for their students.[63]

However, responsiveness in orientations and school climate may not have necessarily produced responsiveness in terms of cognitive achievement. The ICS group's estimate of the project administrators as educators suggests that though they may have had the desired attitudes and sensitivities toward students and the community, they were not more effective or nontraditional as educators than principals in general.[64]

Whether responsiveness is to be defined in terms of outputs or inputs is a question we shall deal with later in this manuscript. For the present, it seems clear that the community control governing boards did try to be responsive in terms of the inputs they provided. In addition to hiring new administrators and principals assumed to be more responsive to community needs, a number of the projects provided inservice courses and workshops to retrain and especially sensitize their teachers.[65] Also, project staffing tended to use extensive numbers of paraprofessionals and/or parent volunteers, to use community people as resources, and to stress deploying staff in roles that provided community outreach.[66] However, none of these are unique approaches and except perhaps for sensitivity training all these practices tend to be widespread in New York City and elsewhere.

Comparative data are lacking to determine the extent to which we might attribute these changes to community control.

Under decentralization in New York, the ICS research suggests that in at least one respect significant personnel changes were made. Of the 108 principals appointed by the community school boards during their first year of operation, 45% were members of minority groups.[67] Equally significant, the whole process of personnel selection, especially for the appointment of district-level superintendents and building principals, was extensively changed under decentralization. We shall examine the findings on changes in school governance shortly. Given the stormy history of personnel issues in the community control experiments (notably the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district), and the contrast in backgrounds of principals appointed before and since decentralization, it would be difficult not to attribute these changes to the changes in governance. Though more data on this point would be desirable, the available data would seem sufficient to establish this point for New York City. Of course, in cities like Washington, D.C. or Detroit where black educators have been appointed in large numbers for some time, decentralization might not have the same degree of impact on personnel matters.[68] What we are to make of this, though, is a moot point.

In a sense, added support is given to the assumption that the change in governance is the factor responsible for changes in personnel by contrasting the available evidence regarding administrators to the evidence on teachers. There has been little change in recruitment, selection, or tenure policies for teachers. Some districts have tried to recruit bilingual teachers from Puerto Rico; there have been a few refusals by community boards to grant tenure to probationary teachers; but in all, there is little noticeable change.[69] It seems reasonable to surmise that this lack of change reflects the relative lack of change permitted by the decentralization law and the citywide teachers' union contract in matters involving teachers -- a testament to the power and effectiveness of the teachers' union, lobbying in the state legislature and negotiating with the city Board of Education. Teacher recruitment and selection procedures remain relatively centralized in the headquarters staff of the city Board of Education and the still-powerful Board of Examiners.[70] Even the leeway the law provided for circumventing these centralized procedures has had little practical effect. Few of those districts permitted by the law to recruit teachers outside centralized channels have been able to recruit teacher candidates who meet other qualifications specified in the law.[71] Where community school boards have tried to follow procedures contrary to central Board of Education guidelines (for instance, on the issue of tenure), they have been generally unsuccessful.[72] However, the boards have been more successful in refusing to accept special personnel (usually guidance counselors) assigned to them by central headquarters when the community board found these counselors either unneeded or lacking desired qualifications (such as speaking Spanish in a heavily Spanish-speaking district).[73]

What are we to conclude about the evidence on responsiveness? We may wish that more data were available, presented in more complete and systematic fashion, along with comparative data. We may argue that the data raise more why and how questions than they answer and that still lacking are the kind of empirical data we need to determine the extent and pattern of responsiveness attributable to form of school district governance. And still unanswered are the questions about the extent to which responsiveness has the educational and political consequences assumed by the decentralization/community control rationale. However, the ICS field research is invaluable as a source of insights and as a presentation of an overall picture. These data make it difficult to refute the assumption that decentralization and community control, especially where community participation is high, should produce an increased effort by school boards to respond to local needs, to be flexible in dealing with proposed changes, and to implement innovative programs and practices.

The ICS research suggests that the most fundamental changes introduced by decentralization and community control involve a responsiveness in the process of school governance. It is to this body of findings that we shall now turn.

PATTERN OF GOVERNANCE AND EXTENT OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The controversies over decentralization and community control revolved around questions of power and influence and the extent of change to be permitted in the pattern of school system governance. This was at the heart of the struggle that erupted in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville and I.S. 201 districts, the New York City teachers' strikes of 1968, and the intense lobbying that took place when the state legislature was considering alternative decentralization proposals.[74]

There was a clear conflict of interests. Those community forces outside the existing structure of power and influence demanded extensive change. Those groups inside the established structure tried to protect their vested interests and maintain as much of the old system as possible.

And as is to be expected in compromises, neither side was completely happy with the outcome. Some advocates of community control have been so critical they have charged that the new system is a sham that shifts the burdens to the local level without the needed powers, coöpts local leadership and confuses the public, ties down local boards with busywork while important decisions are made centrally, and legitimates a system that is not fundamentally different from the old system that decentralization was supposed to reform.[75] Antagonism to the new system was so high in some neighborhoods active in the fight for community control that there was a boycott of the 1970 school board elections in these areas.[76] Powerful opponents of community control, especially the Council of Supervisory Associations, have argued that decentralization is a calamitous disaster.[77] And even such friends of community participation as Kenneth Clark have been highly critical of decentralization as it has functioned in New York City to date.[78]

We must weigh these critiques in determining the validity of using data gathered from available sites to reach conclusions about the viability of these policies. This is a common problem in evaluating natural experiments. ICS researchers have published analyses that contrast the changes as implemented with the changes as intended by the legislators and the even more extensive changes desired by proponents of community control.[79] They have also published an incisive analysis of how the electoral mechanisms built into the legislation, presumably to guarantee equitable representation of minorities, actually functioned to discourage participation and to guarantee that those groups who already had substantial power and influence would maintain and even increase their hold on the system.[80]

In light of these critiques, one must be cautious in the conclusions drawn from data collected in these settings. However, this proviso does not necessarily complicate the researchers' tasks in measurement and design. There are extensive bodies of research to draw on in the areas of school board functioning, political processes, and political participation. Significant dimensions of the problem were not difficult to outline. The backgrounds and policy preferences of school board candidates and members could be examined to determine the kinds of people recruited to leadership roles. Board actions could be analyzed to determine members' concerns and their policy output. One could look at patterns of school board interaction with their community constituency and with district personnel to determine the extent to which accountability was demanded and achieved. And one could evaluate the quantity and quality of community participation to assess the community role in the governing process.

Some form of measurement would seem to have been possible. It might have involved use of simple observer rating scales on specified dimensions or more complex selection of specific indicators for gathering quantifiable data on each dimension. Of course, this would have required a great deal of conceptual work about the kinds of evidence to be expected on each dimension. And it also would have required an approach to research that employed predesigned instruments to measure a change process that might involve a number of unknowns that could not be anticipated. (As we shall see in another chapter, the ICS field researchers believed this approach to be inappropriate to their research.)

Research design should also have been a relatively simple matter. On a city-system level, there were a number of studies that could be used for baseline comparisons.[81] There was also some descriptive work on the operation of New York City's appointed local school boards prior to decentralization.[82] Comparisons could be made between school governance in New York City before and after decentralization and also between patterns of governance in the demonstration districts and in the 31 districts under citywide decentralization.

The adequacy of the measurement and design approaches used in the field research varied with the dimension studied. Although quantification was provided on some questions, most of the evidence was provided in the form of narrative description rather than quantitative data. Comparative design was used implicitly and in several cases explicitly. The bulk of the research is presented in ICS publications. Zimet's Ph.D. dissertation provides some additional information for the one community district he studied.

School Board Membership

If decentralization was expected to bring about a change in groups participating in the governing process, the first dimension we would want to examine would be the membership on the city and community boards before and after decentralization. The ICS researchers present comparative data on backgrounds of city Board of Education members in 1966 prior to the decentralization push and in 1971 after decentralization. In terms of educational and professional backgrounds, age, sex and religious representation, the current board is a bit younger than the 1966 board but otherwise there is little change.[83] This was true despite the changes made in the appointment process. According to the descriptive and judgmental information in the ICS report, this board continued to function much as did its counterpart boards of earlier years.[84]

The ICS data on community school board members suggest that although many of the boards are functioning more actively than their predecessors prior to decentralization, overall the kinds of people serving on these boards have changed little. Most board members tend to be white, male, Jewish or Catholic, professionals, with middle-class incomes, and two or more children attending nonpublic schools. Even in districts with predominantly low-income nonwhite populations, whites tend to be greatly overrepresented while blacks and Puerto Ricans are underrepresented.[85] In a city with a predominantly nonwhite school population, 72% of the 279 board members elected in 1970 were white.[86] The mechanics of the election procedure were such that unorganized parents were vastly underrepresented in the roster of successful candidates, while organized interests such as the Catholic Church and the teachers' union who ran slates of candidates won a majority of the seats.[87]

The impact of electoral mechanisms on board membership is underscored in the ICS data comparing community school board members elected under decentralization to the governing boards elected under rather different procedures in the demonstration districts. Most of those elected to the governing boards were parent representatives or leaders of community organizations. They were predominantly nonwhite mothers of children in the districts' schools, with no more than high school educations, who were either housewives or were employed by poverty agencies or by the schools as paraprofessionals. Most of their prior participatory experience was in school Parent Associations.[88] These data are particularly impressive when compared, as the ICS researchers do, with data on school boards in other large cities or even data on the school boards elected under decentralization.[89]

The significance of social background in research on board membership comes from the proposition that background is a strong determinant of attitudes and of probable orientation toward particular policies. The ICS researchers use some attitude data collected by the Public Education Association on community school board candidates to support the contentions that these boards were likely to be conservative toward educational change and highly deferential to school professionals.[90] In contrast, the ICS researchers suggest that the social backgrounds of the demonstration district governing board members made them change-oriented, strongly committed to satisfying their community constituencies, and assertive in exercising educational leadership and securing professional accountability.[91]

The ICS studies present an extensive amount of data on the backgrounds of board members and persuasive comparative data as well. Although we are told little about the research procedures used, the citywide community school board data appear to come from mailed questionnaires to school board candidates and elected members and from interviews with members of demonstration district governing boards.[92]

Although we might prefer more complete procedural statements and a fuller presentation of all the data gathered, there seems little reason to question the soundness of the conclusions drawn by the ICS researchers. Electoral mechanisms would seem to be critical determinants of the type of participants selected for board membership and social backgrounds do seem significant influences on policy orientations -- although here attitudes toward the roles to be played by lay board and school professionals would seem to be even more critical and not perfectly correlated with social backgrounds. The electoral mechanisms in the demonstration districts were clearly more successful than those in the citywide decentralization system in recruiting new kinds of participants to board membership, notably low-income minority-group parents of children attending the public schools.

Issues Considered by School Boards

The extent to which differences in board members' backgrounds affected the patterns of governance can be determined by examining the available evidence on a number of aspects of board operation. First, we can consider the ICS data on boards' allocation of their time and how this is related to differences in board membership. School board research across the country suggests that boards tend to devote most of their time to routine administration matters, usually approving requests and proposals made by the superintendent and his staff.[93] The decentralization/community control rationale assumes that policy initiative will be asserted by the elected lay boards. The greater the evidence that these boards are initiating and actively involved in deliberations on policy proposals, rather than simply approving or rejecting them, the more the data would seem to support this rationale.

The ICS researchers categorized the issues considered by the community boards in their public meetings during the first year of decentralization. For each issue, they presented data on the frequency with which the issue was considered by the boards and the "percentage of time" devoted to the issue. The figures are presented separately for predominantly (over 70%) white and nonwhite districts.[94]

However, insufficient information is presented with the data to understand precisely what they represent. We are told that the information came from review of over 35% of the minutes from all the school districts, but we are given no information about how representative a sample of minutes was obtained. We are given frequencies for the number of times each issue was discussed, but no indication of whether the frequencies presented are a total across the 31 districts or a mean frequency for each district. We are also given percentage figures for each topic with no interpretation of what these represent. Are they percentages of meetings at which the topic was discussed? percentages of boards who considered this topic? or percentages of the time spent in meetings on this topic? Although the text refers to these as "percents of time," this makes little sense since the numbers add up to many times 100%. Nor do the numbers permit us to infer that the percentages were somehow calculated from the frequencies.

We are therefore at a loss to understand precisely what the data tell us. If we take as valid what the ICS researchers say about these data, then they indicate that the topics discussed at board meetings vary mostly in accord with whether the school district has a predominantly white or nonwhite student population. This is hardly a startling finding since the decentralization/community control rationale is premised on the assumption that districts with different populations have different needs to which local boards will be responsive.

Even more significant, the data themselves do not necessarily support the assumptions of the ICS researchers. Not mentioned in the text but included in the data table is the topic "new programs." Contrary to what might be assumed, boards in white areas devoted 75% of their time to this issue, while those in nonwhite areas devoted only 25%.[95]

Similarly, in the text much is made of the fact that boards in nonwhite districts devoted 61% of their time to the personnel issue "recruitment of outside personnel," while boards in white districts devoted only 39% of their time to this topic. However, the report itself indicates that much of this time is spent on recruiting outside evaluators for Title I programs. Since nonwhite districts tend to have many more Title I programs than white districts, this is hardly a startling finding, and what one is to make of this information becomes a moot point.

If one were to add up the percentages and frequencies for white and nonwhite districts for all personnel-related topics listed, then nonwhite districts spend a higher percentage of their time on these matters, but white districts discussed these matters a greater number of times.[96] What we are to make of this seems less than clearcut.

The ICS analysis of the demonstration districts suggests that their boards, in contrast to typical boards and the citywide community school boards, spent a uniquely high proportion of their time on educational policy questions, especially personnel policy and "changing the system."[97] The ICS researchers also assert that there are "serious indications" that the governing boards would have devoted considerably more time to questions of educational policy if they were not forced to devote so much of their attention to matters of pure survival.[98] However, data comparable to those presented for the citywide community school boards are not presented for the demonstration district governing boards. What we have instead are estimates by board members of percentages of their time spent on different topics and not even the same categories of topics used in the citywide community school board research.

Whatever the case may be in fact, then, neither the measures nor the design used in this research are adequate to shed light on the relationship between board composition and policy issues of concern. The ICS researchers do not even try to answer this question with data in their decentralization analysis. They simply assert that the boards "implemented" "few policy issues"[99] (whatever that means) and then follow this with these data about what the boards discussed. There is some confusion here between policy as process and as output. Even if we are to assume that the statement about policy implementation referred not to the pages that followed (dealing with issues discussed at board meetings) but to later chapters (dealing with policy output), it would seem that the data on topics discussed were either not gathered completely and systematically enough to be useful or that the presentation of the data was too weak to make clear their utility. In short, whatever questions we might have raised about the relationship between board composition and matters that boards considered are left unanswered.

Professional Accessibility and Accountability

If we turn to such critical questions as those involving board interaction with their community constituencies and school professionals, we are provided with a good deal of descriptive data and judgmental analyses. However, lacking are the kinds of data collected through the kinds of designs we need to test the assumptions in the decentralization/community control rationale.

The overall picture one gets from the ICS publications implies a contrast between the demonstration districts and the operation of decentralization in most districts in the city. Numerous formal and informal mechanisms are cited to demonstrate how open and accessible governing board members and district administrators were to their community constituencies in the demonstration districts and how school professionals were generally held accountable to the lay governing boards.[100]

In contrast, the overall picture painted to describe these relationships in most community school boards under decentralization is one of little community access to their boards or administrators, general disregard of their community constituencies in board deliberations, community hostility toward their school boards, and a relationship of board dominance by the community superintendent and his staff rather than professional accountability to the board.[101] The one district singled out as an exception to this general picture is one where the ICS researchers report community participation is high -- i.e., the district assumed to most closely resemble the demonstration districts in pattern of governance.[102]

However, when one examines the descriptive data in order to put together the kind of systematic comparison of data that should have been made by the researchers themselves, the lack of operationalization of concepts and lack of quantitative treatment or comparative design stymie the effort. The accessibility of unit administrator and principals to parents and community in Ocean Hill-Brownsville (and to lesser extent the I.S. 201 district) is emphasized along with their positive attitudes toward such accessibility. However, no comparable data are presented on the 31 districts under decentralization.

And if we compare some of the mechanisms intended to provide community participation in Ocean Hill-Brownsville and the I.S. 201 district with what we are told or know about other districts, they do not seem particularly atypical. For instance, open board meetings, use of school committees, employment of community residents as paraprofessionals, and use of the schools as community centers are widespread, probably characterize in some degree most comparable school districts in the city,[103] and probably did so even prior to decentralization. Although access to district decisionmakers was probably far greater in the demonstration districts (especially Ocean Hill-Brownsville) than in other districts, we lack the kind of data we need to assert this with any certainty.

Similarly, although we are told that professional accountability to the community school boards is generally lacking, with policymaking dominated by the district-level superintendents, this seems inconsistent with what we know about the extensive number of supervisory level appointments (community superintendents, principals, and assistant principals) these boards have made. Although in many cases these were simply instances of filling vacancies, there also seems little doubt that large numbers of the early retirements were pressured by the displeasure of school boards.

To take the concept of accountability beyond the hiring/firing dimension to define it as forcing superintendents to account to their school boards on district performance, the picture presented in the ICS decentralization data is one of utter frustration by board members who charge that they are kept in ignorance. Yet amount of communication would not seem to be critical here. Zimet describes an interesting relationship in the district he studied: the superintendent so flooded board members with memoranda about his actions that they felt they were being swamped with paperwork to prevent them from dealing with important matters.[104]

Community Participation

Perhaps the most important and interesting descriptive data provided by the ICS researchers concern the quantity and quality of parent and community participation in school governance in the demonstration districts and the 31 districts under decentralization. Data on participation are critical to testing the assumptions made in the decentralization/community control rationale about the extent to which participation rates can be increased by structural/administrative/organizational changes. Such data are also essential to developing an expanded conceptualization of the meaning of community participation in school affairs, going beyond the traditional middle-class forms of participation to new kinds of mechanisms more appropriate to working-class or low-income communities.

The concept of participation is handled ambiguously in the ICS advocacy writings. At times, participation is discussed in terms of the typical grassroots kinds of formal participation traditionally studied by political scientists (e.g., meeting attendance, voting, and the like.)[105] At other times, references to participation clearly refer to elite forms of participation (i.e., those leadership roles that provide influence or substantive power in decisionmaking).[106] And at still other times, participation is used to include "a sense of participation," as indicated by "interest" in school affairs, feelings of "community identity," perceptions that district decisionmakers are accessible and concerned, and the like.[107]

This ambiguity in usage is discussed explicitly in Demonstration for Social Change. Participation is so defined that all three kinds of participation are included.[108] The ICS researchers define participation in terms of two ideas: access to decisionmaking and a sense of access. Access is further subdivided into two levels: direct access through election of community residents to serve on school boards (what we referred to earlier as elite participation) and indirect access through voting for school board members and using the channels provided for community residents to interact with board members and district personnel (what we referred to earlier as grassroots forms of formal participation). The sense-of-access idea described by the ICS researchers as inherent in their concept of participation involves "attuning the participants to the policy process sufficiently to dispel feelings of alienation.... In addition to a formal mechanism, communities may be said to have a high degree of participation if their feelings about the policy-making process, provided that is open, significantly decreases political and social anomie."[109]

This approach to conceptualizing participation includes in the concept itself feelings that the social science literature usually considers a consequence of the act of participation. The ICS researchers assert that the elite and grassroots behaviors social scientists traditionally discuss as participation tend to be most relevant to a middle class milieu, and that this expansion of the concept to the domain of attitudes is necessary if participation is to be studied meaningfully in low-income communities.[110] There seems little point in debating this matter of semantics. So long as the particular form of participation the researcher has in mind is clear, we can proceed to examine the available evidence and try to determine what we have learned about participation from this research.

a. Grassroots Participation

Forms of grassroots participation have been studied extensively by political scientists, sociologists, and educational researchers. Neither measurement nor design should have posed any difficulties. Researchers could collect data on such conventional indicators as voting turnout, parent association membership, meeting attendance, school visiting, and the like. Design needs would seem to be satisfied by comparing such data for decentralized systems and community controlled districts to baseline data if available and/or to similar data for non-decentralized systems and/or non-community-controlled districts. Collection of comparative data for control purposes would, of course, increase costs, but without such comparisons researchers would find it difficult to justify whatever policy-relevant inferences they might make from their data.

Quantification of most of these indicators should not have been a problem, especially since the ICS research team included participant observers in the demonstration districts and observers at community school board meetings under decentralization. Yet, with the exception of voting turnouts where statistics were available from other sources,[111] the ICS researchers do not present quantitative data on these forms of participation.

Instead, the question of participation levels is dealt with in descriptive terms. We are told that in the demonstration districts there were "indications of wider parent interest and involvement in school meetings and organizations,"[112] and "larger attendance at meetings."[113]

The only solid quantitative data we have are on voting turnout and a number of specific participation questions asked of a sample of Ocean Hill-Brownsville parents in Frances Gottfried's opinion survey. The voting turnout in the demonstration districts was reasonably high. The figures vary a bit in different reports but the most reliable would seem to be: 30% of eligible parents voting in Ocean Hill-Brownsville; 23% in the I.S. 201 district; and 22.6% in the Two Bridges district.[114] Although these figures may not seem unduly high, they indicate a larger turnout than is generally the case in these communities for local political elections.[115] And, they are higher than the citywide turnout in the 1970 community school board elections, the first such elections under New York City's decentralization plan. In these elections, the citywide turnout was less than 15% of eligible voters, with individual districts varying from a low of 4.9% to a high of 22.0%.[116] Similarly, although we are not given precise figures, we are told of low voting turnouts in the Anacostia Community Schools Project in Washington, D.C., and in the citywide school board elections under decentralization in Detroit.[117]

Gottfried's ICS survey of a sample of Ocean Hill-Brownsville parents provides some specific data on formal parent involvement in the schools.[118] The survey was taken in 1970, after two-and-a-half years of demonstration district status. This was a reasonable time period in which to expect to find increases in parent participation rates if the assumptions in the decentralization/community control rationale are valid. Unfortunately, we have no baseline data on parent participation levels in the district prior to demonstration status [119] and no comparative data on other districts in the city. The only comparisons we might make are with participation data available from studies made in similar communities in the years immediately prior to and/or during the years of demonstration district status. However, it is difficult to locate data that are comparable enough to be usable for this purpose.[120]

Gottfried's data indicate that 36% of her sample belonged to a school Parent Association. Thirty-seven percent attended one to four meetings per year; 18% attended more than four meetings a year; and 45% attended no meetings. As many as 86% of the parents stated that they had visited their child's school during the previous year. (Gottfried reports that teachers in the district have commented that few parents visited the schools prior to creation of the demonstration district.) When asked about personal contact with the district's leaders, 10% of the parent sample stated that they had talked personally with the unit administrator, while 13% said they had spoken with a member of the district's governing board.[121]

Without comparative data, it is difficult to determine from these findings the extent of change in participation rates to be attributed to community control. All rates seem high based on what we know about low-income communities. The rates for school visiting and contact with district leaders are high enough to approach or even surpass middle class suburban patterns. We can infer, then, that the data seem to lend support to the decentralization/community control rationale. However, we cannot conclude this with any certainty, cannot determine to what extent the participation rates are attributable to the pa[illegible] of governance, and cannot really understand what causal processes are unfolding. This is particularly unfortunate since the grassroots participation questions would have been reasonably easy to answer with even a modicum of attention to considerations of measurement and design.

b. Elite Participation

Analysis of elite forms of participation presents the researcher with more complex conceptual measurement problems than research on grassroots participation. We will deal with some of these problems in later chapters. At this point, we can simply indicate the nature of the problems.

Elite participation involves at least two ideas with extensive research traditions, especially in political science. On the one hand, if such participation is defined in terms of membership on school boards, committees, and the like, participation involves a notion of representation. This concept is not easy to measure. The researcher must try to determine whom the elite represent, how representative they are of their constituency, through what channels they interact with their constituency, and how and to what extent they are accountable to their constituency. On the other hand, elite participation may be conceived in terms of power and influence. Here, the researcher is confronted with the thorny problem of measuring the amount of power exercised by board members and other leaders and their influence on policy outputs. Both approaches to elite participation are difficult to operationalize and even more difficult to quantify.

Elite participation is given even more attention than grassroots forms in the decentralization/community control literature. Its importance is critical. However, ICS field research on such participation is not extensive and most of it is purely descriptive. Little is provided in the way of comparative design. What little comparison is made is in the form of judgmental statements -- for instance, those comparing the demonstration districts to the 31 New York City districts under decentralization.[122]

The question of representation is handled in the research simply by use of data on the social backgrounds of school board members. However, this is hardly adequate. The assumption that low-income board members are representative of low-income constituents is too simplistic -- as though such constituents reflected any more unitary set of interests than constituents in any other kind of community. We know that there are factional constituencies within school districts, and the ICS researchers themselves acknowledge racial hostilities within the citywide districts and even in the Two Bridges demonstration district.[123] The ICS researchers describe several districts where they say that "unrepresentative white boards" disregard the expressed desires of the community, especially in personnel matters.[124]

Yet board votes are not necessarily always along racial lines. Our own familiarity with the operation of some of the community school boards under decentralization suggests that the race of board members is not always a good predictor of policy orientations or constituency representation. Why and how some middle-class white professionals serving on these boards are among the most consistent and strongest representatives of non-white constituencies has not been investigated. How they interact with their constituencies and establish their legitimacy as representatives is also an important question that has not been examined. Nor do we have public opinion data on how any but the Ocean Hill-Brownsville board were perceived by their constituencies. We have learned little from these studies, then, about how and to what extent representation functions in decentralized and/or community controlled systems.

The power-and-influence dimension of participation is approached more directly in the ICS field research, but is handled in terms of judgmental conclusions rather than systematic presentation of evidence. The ICS studies assert that the governing boards of the demonstration districts made significant educational policy decisions, that this was essentially a landmark in lay school boards rather than professionals determining policy in New York City (whether one considers the history of the local or the citywide boards), and that by way of contrast the community school boards elected under decentralization had little impact on policy.[125] Further, these studies state that the district-level superintendents dominated the boards under decentralization, whereas in the demonstration districts board members tended to perceive the unit administrator as a major influence on policy only in Ocean Hill-Brownsville.[126]

Yet despite these conclusions, some of the evidence presented in the ICS decentralization study suggests that board members and other community leaders who participated in the governance process had a great deal of influence and some power, at least with regard to personnel matters.[127] Ten of 31 districts replaced their community superintendents during the one-year time period covered in the ICS study[128] and many others have replaced their superintendents since that time. In a total system of 900+ schools, the school boards replaced 108 principals in the first year of decentralization alone. And further, the ICS data indicate that considerable attention was devoted to personnel matters by these boards, with a fair amount of community (i.e., the school Parent Association) as well as school board participation in the process in several districts.[129]

These data include some of the most interesting descriptive information in the field research. They provide us with insight into some new forms of elite participation that have developed under decentralization.

At least in some areas of the city, Parent Associations (PAs) have come to expect an active role in the process of appointing new principals for their schools. In one district, where a school PA felt its wishes were disregarded by the community board and the "consultation" process was a fraud, the PA sued the board in court. The case was dismissed on the grounds that the decentralization law did not require the community school boards to provide a parent role in the appointment process.[130] However, the PA's assumption about such a role as its right is hardly atypical. It appears to be one of the significant new norms created and legitimated by decentralization in several areas of the city and an important legacy that bodes continual change.

Among the new participatory forms in the personnel process are the following: PAs that interview candidates and nominate three candidates for the final selection by the community school board; PAs that have veto power over candidates recommended by the school board for appointment; PA representatives who sit on board personnel committees when they consider candidates for their particular school; and even open voting membership on the personnel committee for any community resident who volunteers to serve.[131]

Other mechanisms devised by some of the boards to increase community participation in school governance and board access and accountability to their constituencies include: establishment of advisory councils in each school; assignment of specific board members to carry out liaison functions with each school; mandated establishment of PAs in schools where they did not exist; and a requirement that community superintendents be present at public board meetings to respond to inquiries from the floor.[132]

These forms are important, especially in areas of the city where they represent a marked change from prior practice. However, we are not provided with data on the impact of these mechanisms, except in one cese of dismal failure: In one predominantely white middle class district the most novel mechanism of all was created to encourage community participation. In this district, decisions on personnel are made by a committee consisting of one school board member, two teachers' union representatives, two supervisors' association representatives, and as many parents as agree to serve. If more than five parents volunteered to serve on the committee, they could control committee decisions, and committee decisions are put into effect by the school board without challenge. Despite the substantive power available to parents, the district has been unable to recruit parents who are willing to serve on the committee.[133]

Before leaving this topic, we might also consider the elite forms of participation described in ICS reports on the small-scale, parent-initiated, parent-run ventures. However, it is not surprising in such ventures to find parents performing virtually every conceivable role in planning and implementing policy.[134] That is in the nature of such ventures, and their generalizability to large urban systems seems limited, even if the parents are nonwhite and low-income.

What are we to conclude from the ICS data on elite forms of participation? That low-income poorly educated parents can perform school board roles as effectively and perhaps even more assertively than those who traditionally serve in these positions seems demonstrated. Whether or not this might have been demonstrated in non-decentralized, non-community-controlled districts, however, is a moot point. Without comparative data, we cannot answer such questions. And similarly, we can say that new participating forms were created and implemented and new participating norms legitimated in some parts of the city. However, this was a decade in history in which this was happening across the nation, in diverse kinds of communities, in nonschool as well as school settings. Without comparative data, then, we are at a loss to draw any inferences at all about the extent of change attributable to decentralization, or the conditions under which the greatest amount of change in the governance process took place. This is most unfortunate since clearly there was some change and districts did vary widely in the quantity and quality of change. Systematic research might have produced a wealth of new policy-relevant information and might also have contributed to advancing knowledge in the disciplines of political science and sociology. From the researcher's point of view, the decentralization and community control field sites must be assessed as something of a lost opportunity.

c. Sense of Participation

Decentralization and community control emerged as policy issues in response to expressed frustration. Community spokesmen argued that schools were so governed that they failed to reflect the interests of parents and children, who were effectively excluded from power and influence. The policy rationale assumed that this pattern would be reversed, that parents' interests would be represented in the decisionmaking structure, that they would therefore perceive the system as more open to their access and influence, and would therefore identify with the system and find its functioning more satisfying.

This "sense of participation" was clearly an attitude dimension and called for operationalization in the form of opinion survey items. To establish that the measured attitudes were attributable to the form of school governance, a comparative design would seem required. Baseline data would be particularly useful, but even without such data, comparisons with non-decentralized, non-community-controlled districts would seem essential. And since educational research has consistently shown how attitudes toward schools are affected by factors other than governance pattern, adequate design would seem to require controlling such confounding influences as race, SES, and school achievement levels.

There are only two pieces of empirical research that report data bearing on parents' "sense of participation." The New York City Board of Education's Advisory Committee on Decentralization[135] commissioned a survey of a total of 600 parents in the three demonstration districts in the spring of 1968, after one year of demonstration status. This study included several items tapping parents' assessments of the responsiveness of various school officials to parents' problems.[136] Similar questions were included in Frances Gottfried's winter 1970 ICS survey of 214 Ocean Hill-Brownsville parents.[137] Gottfried used the reported data for the Ocean Hill-Brownsville subsample in the 1968 study to make baseline comparisons with her 1970 sample.

The earlier study was undertaken after nearly one year of demonstration status rather than prior to the change in governance. Its reliability as an indicator seems further impaired by the timing of the survey, soon after the Ocean Hill-Brownsville controversy erupted and created confusion and frustration in the district. Despite these problems, comparison of the two studies would still seem valuable. If the Ocean Hill-Brownsville leadership were able to overcome district frustrations and win over community trust between the dates of the first and second surveys, this might lend support to the decentralization/community control assumptions about how a sense of participation is created by these forms of governance. (Of course, too, the comparison might simply reflect the effectiveness of racially polarized conflict in solidifying support when threatened by external enemies. We could be more certain of the inferences to be made from the Ocean Hill-Brownsville data if we had similar comparative data for other community controlled districts that were not confronted with such intense conflicts.)

Comparison of the 1968 and 1970 data suggests that the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district was successful in stimulating a "sense of participation" in running the schools and that this increased over time. For instance, in one series of questions parents were asked how they believed various school officials would respond if parents contacted them about some problem. The possible response categories were: try to do something; listen, but avoid doing anything; or ignore it. On every item (whether the question was asked about the governing board, the unit administrator, the district's principals, or teachers), there was a substantial increase in the percentage of parents who responded that the official would try to do something. (These percentages in 1968 ranged from 46% - 56%. In 1970, the range was 72% - 83%.)[138] In contrast, when asked about the city Board of Education, the percentages who thought the Board would try to do something were only 25% in 1968 and 34% in 1970.[139] Clearly, the district governing board was perceived as far more responsive than the city Board of Education and over time the actions of district personnel (most of whom were hired by the governing board)[140] appear to have increased the feeling among parents that their initiatives would be rewarded.

In a second series of items, parents were asked about their perceptions of whom the governing board, unit administrator, and Board of Education responded to most: parents (what most district parents want);

influentials (what only some parents want); or themselves (acting on their own).[141] Again, district personnel were believed to be more responsive to parents ("what most parents want") than the city Board, and the district's elected board was believed in 1968 to be more responsive than the unit administrator. (The 1968 percentages believing these officials were most responsive to parents were: 47% for the governing board; 28% for the unit administrator; and only 19% for the city Board.) There was far less change over time on these items than the first series. (The 1970 percentages were: 50% for the governing board; 45% for the unit administrator; and 22% for the city Board.) The one item suggesting substantial change reflects for the most part a switch of opinion from "not sure" in 1968 to a belief by more parents that Rhody McCoy was most responsive to parents.[142]

There were two other items in the Gottfried survey that suggest change in the direction of an increased sense of participation. When asked how much influence people in the district had on the schools in 1970 compared to the years before creation of the district, 65% responded that they believed local people had more influence. And 62% of the sample stated that the unit administrator did keep people informed about what is happening in the district.[143]

If "sense of participation" is defined in terms of attachment to the district, a "sense of identity" with the schools is discussed as an attribute of parents whose children attend several community controlled projects discussed in the ICS publications.[144] How this was operationalized, however, is never made clear and one senses that it represents simply an amorphous judgment. Gottfried may have been attempting to measure this in an item asking Ocean Hill-Brownsville parents how they would feel about the possible abolition of the district. In response, 52% stated they would be unhappy; only 6% said they would be pleased.[145]

Given the relatively high 1968 percentages on such items as believing district officials would do something about a school problem if contacted by a parent, it is particularly unfortunate that baseline data are not available from the period prior to demonstration district status and that comparative data are lacking from non-community-controlled districts. We cannot know for certain whether these responses simply reflect the generally benevolent feelings people have about authorities, especially school officials,[146] or whether the feelings are to be attributed to community control, even in the first year of somewhat ambiguous demonstration status. However, in the absence of data to the contrary, it seems reasonable to interpret the available evidence as support for the assumption that community control should increase parents' sense of participation in the running of their children's schools.

PARENTAL SATISFACTION

The decentralization/community control rationale assumes that parents' satisfaction with their children's schools is significantly influenced by their perceptions of the responsiveness of the school governance process, their judgments of the healthiness of the school climate, and their evaluations of school effectiveness in producing academic achievement. Since advocates expect the change in school governance to bring improvements in all these areas of school functioning, they assume these strategies will produce an increase in parental satisfaction.

The 1968 and 1970 surveys of Ocean Hill-Brownsville parents suggest that the district staff were as successful in increasing parent satisfaction with the schools as they were in stimulating a "sense of participation." On every item tapping parents' evaluation of school facilities and services (textbooks, buildings, counseling, and lunches), the percentage of parents giving positive ratings increased substantially (from 36% - 42% in 1968 to 57% - 69% in 1970).[147] On every rating of district personnel (the governing board, unit administrator, principals, and teachers), positive ratings showed large increases (from 29% - 40% in 1968 to 57% - 77% in 1970).[148] And while only 32% of the 1970 sample felt that the schools had gotten better since they became part of the demonstration district, only 17% believed they had gotten worse. (In 1968, 20% of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville sample predicted that the schools would get better, while 38% thought they would get worse.)[149]

We would have liked to compare these data to similar data for the other two demonstration districts that did not experience in these years the same degree of intense controversy and threat from outside forces. The Advisory Committee's 1968 survey data showed a generally higher level of satisfaction in the I.S. 201 and Two Bridges districts than in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Perhaps the greater dissatisfaction in Ocean Hill-Brownsville is to be attributed to the controversy going on in the district at the time of the 1968 survey or the fact that the schools in that district had the lowest levels of performance of the three districts, and perhaps too the most well developed parent consciousness of the problem and militance about it. But to arrive at generalizable inferences about the amount of increased parent satisfaction to be attributed to community control per se, it would have been useful to have comparative 1970 data on these other districts. We would also like to have seen baseline data on all the districts prior to demonstration status, and comparative baseline, 1968, and 1970 data on non-community-controlled districts.

The closest we have to a study that meets our needs for control-group comparison is a rigorously designed hypothesis-testing study by Richard L.

Andrews and Ernest G. S. Noack.[150] To determine whether parents in a decentralized district were more satisfied with their schools than parents in a district functioning under a centralized administration, they analyzed interview data gathered from a carefully selected random sample of parents in a single large city. They found parental satisfaction in the decentralized district to be significantly higher (at the .001 level), and district type was a more significant determinant of satisfaction than parents' race or age. Surprisingly, socioeconomic status (SES) was not significantly related to satisfaction. However, this may simply reflect the aggregate nature of the measure used (a high-low SES stratification of zones within each district, based on census data and an unspecified socioeconomic index).

However, as fastidious as the researchers were about their sample selection, reliability, statistical tests and techniques, we might raise a number of questions about the inferences we can make from their data. First, it is unclear exactly what inputs define decentralization in the district selected. The city is not identified but would appear from the authors' affiliations to be Seattle. If our assumption is correct, then the decentralized district is an experimental component of the city school system. This would appear to be confirmed by the authors' identification of the non-decentralized district as a "regular" centralized district. Some of the satisfaction effect, then, might simply be a by-product of the experimental condition -- i.e., another instance of the Hawthorne effect.

A second problem in the study may be the validity of the measure of parental satisfaction employed. A single satisfaction score was calculated for each parent by adding together the scores for each of twelve items. Although Andrews and Noack assert that their measure has content validity, most of the items tap not satisfaction but variables that might be related to satisfaction -- e.g., how much information the parent has about the school, how well the parent knows her children's principals and teachers, how much parents participate in school decisionmaking, and how much of a chance parents have to participate in school matters.

The extent to which these variables are related to satisfaction is an empirical question and one that is unlikely to have a unitary answer. We would expect each of these variables to be related to satisfaction to a different degree and to show different patterns of relationship for different population groups. We would have more confidence in Andrews and Noacks' findings if they had presented the results of separate analyses of each of the twelve items.

And finally, how meaningful are the statistically significant findings Andrews and Noack reported? Perhaps we are being unfair in distinguishing between statistical and social significance, especially when the statistical significance was at the .001 level. However, of a possible range from 12 (not at all satisfied) to 36 (very satisfied), the mean satisfaction score for the total sample (30.93) and for the decentralized (32.26) and centralized (29.59) districts are reasonably close: all fall approximately midway between "somewhat" and "much" satisfied in the response alternatives presented to the parents. And the correlation coefficient between satisfaction and district type was only .239; therefore, no more than 6% of the variance in satisfaction was explained by district type.

Despite these problems, the Andrews and Noack study represents a significant effort to get at one of the key questions in evaluating these strategies. And whether or not the reader is persuaded that the weaknesses we have discussed are serious, it should be underscored that methodologically this study may well represent one of the soundest pieces of research in the literature.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

There is virtually no attention to community development objectives in the field research on community control. The ICS researchers present some data to show that demonstration district governing board members furthered their expertise and developed confidence in their abilities and that at least a few of these had political ambitions.[151] The ICS reports also mention employment of community residents as paraprofessionals and school aides,[152] which can be thought of in terms of community economic development.

However, no attempt was made to assess the impact of community-controlled projects on the development of a sense of community or ethnic solidarity. Nor was any effort made to measure adult community residents' sense of control, despite its critical importance in the community control theory. As already discussed, the researchers did survey parents' "sense of participation " and their perceptions of their access and influence in the community controlled projects. But this is hardly the generalized sense of control over one's environment that is hypothesized to be such a potent influence on behavior. Nor was any research directed at investigating the impact on community organizational structure, quantity or quality of political or organizational participation or community action, ease of political mobilization, or increased community influence in the citywide political arena.

Left unanswered, then, are any of the important questions one might ask about the impact of community control on community social, political, and economic development, or the relationship between ghetto communities and the white majority in competing for the benefits of the good life.

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

What can we conclude from available empirical research on the effectiveness of decentralization and community control in operation? Most of the critical questions we might ask about these policies are left unanswered.

The research generally suffers from serious methodological weaknesses. Few of the studies involve any form of comparison or control. Measured outcomes are assumed to be the consequence of decentralization or community control, but a number of alternative explanations are usually equally plausible. Without the needed control group comparisons, we cannot conclude with any degree of confidence that the decentralized or community controlled sites are significantly different from nondecentralized or non-community-controlled sites or that measured effects indicate changes in the hypothesized directions resulting from the introduction of these strategies. And even in instances where it seems reasonable to conclude that the hypothesized outcomes have indeed followed and resulted from the introduction of decentralization or community control, the limitations of the research designs make it impossible for us to determine precisely which of the various causal mechanisms assumed to be operative in these strategies account for the results -- and therefore what is essential and what is peripheral in future attempts at implementation.

The available data provide no basis for refuting the assumptions underlying the decentralization/community control rationale. And, in fact, the descriptions published in the ICS reports suggest that the field sites examined were functioning in the manner predicted by proponents of these strategies. In general in community controlled schools and districts, community participation in the governance process was substantial, community residents were represented and had considerable influence in the policy process, school professionals were accessible and receptive to community residents and accountable to community school boards. Moreover, parents appeared to be participating extensively in school affairs and expressed a "sense" of participation, access, and influence. And where decentralization was accompanied by substantial community participation, the data appear to show a similar pattern on at least those few variables studied citywide.

We lack the kind of comparative data we need to be certain that these measures represent a significant difference from the pattern in otherwise comparable nondecentralized or non-community-controlled sites (or in these decentralized or community controlled sites prior to the change in school governance). But it is plausible to assume from what we know about schools generally that the assumed differences are indeed real and that they should be attributed to the change in governance.

But what aspects of the changes in governance are responsible for the differences -- and therefore what inputs and implementation conditions are essential in future applications of the approach? And to what extent are available effects to be attributed to the operation of the Hawthorne effect? How generalized are findings from the somewhat unique context of New York City in the late 1960's? The research conducted to date provides no help in answering these questions.

Whatever the state of our knowledge about the effects of these strategies on pattern of governance and school-community climate, we know even less about the effects on either school functioning or community development. The available data support the assertions that community controlled projects were highly innovative and flexible in developing and adapting school policies. Moreover, the data indicate that the governing boards of these projects did try to implement curriculum and personnel changes they believed would be specifically responsive to the needs of low-income minority-group students. And further, the data underscore the receptivity of these boards to community inputs and to new ideas from academics, foundations, consultants, and others outside the school system.

However, the lack of control-group comparison makes it difficult to be certain that these projects were any more innovative than otherwise comparable non-community-controlled projects, especially when we take into account the operation of the Hawthorne effect. We cannot use these data to justify the conclusion that increased innovation is an outcome to be attributed to decentralization or community control.

Nor do we have the kind of data we need to relate innovations to their assumed consequences. School climate was not operationalized in a useful manner and we are therefore still ignorant of the antecedents and consequences of this critical variable. One study provided impressive support for the assumption that student affective development might be influenced in the desired direction, but here too lack of control makes causal attribution a risky enterprise. Lacking too are data to prove the causal role of attitudes in affecting student achievement. The investigations of academic achievement are inconclusive. And studies of the impact of community control on community development are nonexistent.

We may conclude, then, that despite the research conducted to date, we have learned very little about the effectiveness of these strategies in operation or the validity of the assumptions on which they are based. In the next chapter, we consider some of the reasons for the current undeveloped state of our knowledge about these strategies and what this implies about needed changes in the organization and management of the field of educational policy research.

CHAPTER IV

DECENTRALIZATION/COMMUNITY CONTROL RESEARCH AND THE RESEARCH CONTEXT OF THE 1960s

We have reviewed the decentralization/community control literature in great detail in order to underscore a number of points about this approach to educational reform and the research conducted to date to determine its viability. We have suggested that the approach represented a radical policy departure from educational strategies that had been tried previously. When compared to conventional educational theory or even what in the previous decade had been considered "reform" thought on such matters, decentralization and community control involved fundamentally different kinds of policy inputs and assumptions about the determinants and even the very meaning of school effectiveness.

We have argued that the causal model underlying the decentralization/community control rationale was not only new and different, but that it was based on untested assumptions that were in need of careful and rigorous research. Moreover, we have scrutinized what little empirical research was conducted on the effectiveness of these strategies and concluded that for the most part the approach was investigated uncritically. Research was undertaken to prove that the approach was sound by providing accounts that described the field sites operating in the manner predicted by the strategy rationale. This research might be considered support for the rationale in the sense that it provided virtually no disconfirming evidence. However, these studies failed to provide the kind of systematic testing needed to verify critical assumptions or to arrive at an understanding of the causal mechanisms assumed to be operative in these strategies.

The decentralization/community control rationale seems as intriguing now as it did when it first emerged, and it still remains untested and in need of rigorous research. It would seem useful, then, to try to arrive at some understanding of why the research response to this problem has been inadequate to date.

We would be mistaken to assume that the limitations of the decentralization/community control research reflect inadequacies peculiar to those who conducted these studies. The assumptions of these researchers reflected the dominant intellectual and ideological climate in the social sciences in the '60s. The methodological weaknesses of their studies were no worse than those that pervaded the field of social action research. We have advanced little in our understanding of the effectiveness of decentralization and community control, but we have made little more progress in determining the effectiveness of social change strategies in general.[1]

To understand why we have learned so little about decentralization and community control, then, we must examine this research in terms of the research context of the '60s. We shall consider in this chapter the manner in which the decentralization/community control investigations reflected the limitations of social action research in the '60s and draw some implications about needed changes in the organization and management of the field of educational policy research.

THE DECENTRALIZATION/COMMUNITY CONTROL RATIONALE AND THE INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE OF THE 1960's: THE NEED FOR POLICY ANALYSIS

School decentralization and community control emerged as policy issues at a time when social scientists were confident of the validity of their theories and optimistic about the contribution they could make to the solution of social problems. In particular, it was expected that the application of social scientific knowledge would lead with ease to the eradication of poverty and the realization of rapid social change.

Much has been written about the rôle of social science in the formulation of national social policies in the [illegible], and much of this is critical of social science and social scientists.[2] In particularly hardhitting attacks, Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Walter Miller have argued that social scientists erred in their behavior because of their uncritical acceptance of social science theories that had become fashionable or "in the air" -- ideas that fit in neatly with social scientists' own values, biases, and, above all, overly simplistic views of the nature of poverty and of institutional and social change.[3] Miller has dubbed these ideas the "poverty ideology" and described them as "a classic manifestation of a deep-rooted and pervasive belief system" assumed to be, like the air we breathe, simply "the way things are, the substance of reality." As such, the ideas were taken for granted. Like the notions in the decentralization/community control rationale, the ideas appeared repeatedly in the writings of different academic analysts, using the same terminology, the same assumptions, the same arguments.

Under such conditions, much of the research that was conducted fit the needs of advocacy rather than adhering to the standards we would expect from disciplinary or policy-oriented research. The questions researchers explored were derived from the view of reality they sought to prove. Designs were addressed not to determining whether this view of reality was valid so much as marshalling evidence to prove that it was indeed so. If evidence were encountered that did not accord with this view of reality, it was assumed that the deficiencies were not in the theory itself so much as in the reality of a particular context -- e.g., political powerfuls such as the Board of Education or the teachers' union blocked the creation of the conditions assumed by the theory and therefore prevented a fair test. Although cautions about conditions under which experiments are implemented are perfectly reasonable and even essential, what is important for our purposes here is the manner in which this mind-set cushioned the researchers from having to search for or even consider disconfirming evidence. Propositions were never formulated in a manner that permitted disproof. Rather, they were assertions about what could be under proper conditions. Any disconfirming evidence could therefore be interpreted as an indication that the proper conditions had not been established.[4]

In such a research context, there was little critical analysis of underlying assumptions and little systematic effort to test policy-oriented hypotheses against evidence. What the field of social policy research lacked was a well-developed and functioning analytical apparatus. The increasingly ideological climate in which social research was enmeshed in the '60s made social scientists increasingly self-conscious of their own values and biases and how these intruded on what had long been conceived as "objective " "value-free" social science. But in the absence of an orientation toward policy research that assumed the analytical function as a first step in policy development, the problem was conceived as a choice between social science as "totally value-free" or "totally value-laden."[5] However, as Miller has argued, when research is concerned with questions of policy the issue is not to make research value-free but rather "as free as possible from unexamined values."[6]

> Each formulation, or a possibly synthesized formulation, should be subjected to the most searching and exacting analysis, with the aim of disclosing the major value premises it incorporates or assumes and making each of

> these as explicit as possible. In this way, it should be possible to avoid much of the conflict and confusion attending divergent interpretations of the many hidden-value code words of the Poverty Ideology.
>
> Of particular importance to the enterprise of delineating hidden values are those that relate to differing political philosophies. Such values command the most powerful and personalized emotional investment and, as such, are particularly resistant to deliberate examination. Two among the more volatile of the numerous issues in this area relate to desired rates and mechanisms of societal change, and the allocation of societal resources to the various age, sex, social status, racial, and other societal classes.... Evaluative conceptions of this kind must be made as explicit as possible so their implications for policy can be considered with the greatest of care.[7]

Policy analysis applied to decentralization and community control would reveal how these strategies reflected the social research climate of the '60s. Not only did adherents of these policies approach research from the same confident advocacy perspective of proving rather than testing, but the substance of the decentralization/community control rationale itself was a reflection of the unexamined values and social science ideas that were "in the air " simply applied to a particular institution (public school systems) in a particular context (large cities). Each set of ideas in the decentralization/community control rationale is traceable to its roots in the poverty ideology, and we shall explore some of these connections. By making explicit some of the values and biases that shaped the formulation of the rationale, we hope to demonstrate how they functioned to limit the policy options considered, polarize the political environment in which the policy debate took place, and determine the outlines of the research agenda that was pursued.

Institutional Failure Attributable to Professionals' Behaviors

The decade that preceded the emergence of the decentralization/community control dabate was a period of active educational reform. The educational scene was alive with curriculum reform and technological innovation. And concern about black and minority-group underachievement had prompted what turned out to be less than a major thrust toward school integration but a torrent of new compensatory education programs.

Despite this active reform initiative, advocates of the decentralization/community control approach scathingly attacked the institutional capacity of school systems and the competence and motives of school professionals when called upon to implement reforms targetted at the needs of low-income minority-group students. By doing so, they alienated a group whose cooperation or at least acquiescence was critical to successful implementation of the proposed reforms -- and whose opposition sealed the fate of the most important test of these strategies to date.[8] Why was the problem diagnosed in this manner?

At least part of the answer may be found in the unexamined values and biases common to both the poverty ideology and the decentralization/community control rationale. Critics have described those who formulated the poverty ideology as a middle class or affluent group of intellectuals who suffered from, first, an intellectual snobbism that permitted them to look down on civil service bureaucrats and, second, an arrogance about the ease with which social change could be accomplished if only the management of such change were in the hands of the reformers themselves instead of the bureaucrats.[9] This snobbism and arrogance prompted them to reject the merit of all previous efforts to bring about the desired changes. Participants in the development of the poverty program and observers of the early period have described the War on Poverty as growing out of a "sense of failure" that sweepingly indicted all previous programs and reforms, viewed all the institutions that were supposed to help the poor as in state of "breakdown," and interpreted all that social welfare bureaucrats and professionals proposed as "more of the same" -- requests for more and more money to do the same old thing that had been failing all along. These professionals, as the reformers saw it, "had failed the poor " and programs "had stagnated" in their hands. There was a need, instead, they argued for "new blood." The nonexpert would show the welfare professionals how to get the job done.[10] And he would do it by finding totally new ideas and approaches capable of solving the problems.

The indictment against the professionals and bureaucrats who had been working with the poor went further than the charge of past failure and lack of new ideas. Beyond incompetence, the reformers charge them with biases that degraded the poor, services performed in a manner that made the professionals and bureaucrats part of the problem instead of part of the solution, and motives that made them suspect and worthy of only distrust.

The reform critique of the professionals' behavior[11] can be summarized as follows: The middle class biases of the professionals made them look upon those they were supposed to serve as degraded and dependent. They communicated a sense of inferiority to their clients that managed "to create or reinforce the very sense of dependency they are supposed to eliminate." The services they provided functioned as "anti-services." They not only failed to relieve the problem but actually aggravated it. The social problem was caused in part by the behavior of the institution created to deal with it. For instance, the professional assigned labels to his clients, often somewhat arbitrarily, and then treated the clients in a manner determined more by the labels than the actual content of clients' behaviors. And then that treatment brought about, in the manner of a self-fulfilling prophecy, client behaviors that eventually seemed to confirm the validity of the original labels. Applied to the schools, labelling a group of children as limited in academic ability, then exposing them to the kind of teaching that demanded little of them, guaranteed that the children would not achieve. Instead of providing a service that expanded children's opportunities, such schools functioned as antiservices that limited their opportunities.

The reformers argued further than the professionals' behavior was determined by a factor more sinister than simply unconscious middle class biases. The reformers' case was further spiced by the charge that the bureaucrats functioned in a self-serving manner that placed their own interests above those of their clients. The social welfare bureaucracies were described by the reformers as autonomous power bases, insulated from outside influences, functioning to build up and protect their domains, and warding off any initiatives that chould be interpreted as encroachments on their influence or autonomy. Official ideologies functioned to protect the status quo and ward off threats to the status of those whose positions in the bureaucracies improved their lot in life. Among the tenets of those official ideologies were such principles as: "the separation of politics and administration," "promotion by merit," and "administrative decisions should be made by professionals."[12] The parallels to the decentralization/community control argument should already be apparent.

Why did the reformers feel it necessary to attack professionals' motives rather than restricting their indictment to matters of competence or taking a more diplomatic tack and concentrating on institutional constraints on professionals' behavior? We are on highly speculative ground here, but it seems plausible to suggest that a partial explanation is to be found in the reformers' sense of the uniqueness of the dilemma of nonwhite minorities compared to other ethnic groups in American society and their attraction to the concept of racism as a substantial part of the explanation for this dilemma.

Institutional Failure Attributable to Institutional Racism

At least two explanatory frameworks could be used to describe the position of nonwhite minorities in American society today, particularly in large cities. One of these is pluralist political theory and its corollary concept of ethnic succession. This approach assumes that nonwhite minorities are not fundamentally different from other ethnic groups in American society; that they will experience the same gradual process of breaking out of poverty and rising through the ranks of society; that the civil rights and black power movements signalled the beginning of this development; and that as a result blacks (and then other groups) would succeed to positions in the public bureaucracies as first steps up the economic ladder climbed by other groups.

Pluralist political theory presented a picture of American society as a generally healthy democracy, functioning smoothly through bargaining and compromise to accommodate diverse interests and producing decisions that were generally just and satisfying. Diverse interests were represented in critical decisionmaking processes through a decisionmaking elite of influentials and elected representatives. If a particular interest perceived itself as unrepresented in this decisionmaking apparatus, it would mobilize its resources until its legitimacy as an interest could no longer be denied. The political structure would be forced to accommodate the "new" interest group. This would occur either through institutional change that broadened the base of interests in the decisionmaking apparatus or through a process of succession whereby the new group would take the place of a group declining in power. All interest groups were free to mobilize to make themselves heard, and the political process would gradually respond to the pressures of each interest that effectively entered the political arena. Such had been the case in the nation's past, went the argument, whether the mobilized interest was the farmer or the laboring man, the railroad tycoon or the financier. And ethnic succession in the nation's large cities and public bureaucracies had unfolded as a history of replacing dominant WASPs with one or another or a series of the immigrant ethnic minorities -- the Irish, the Italians, the Jews.

If blacks and other nonwhite minorities could rise out of poverty as had other ethnic groups in American society in previous decades, then the nation's political processes could be judged generally healthy -- though perhaps slow -- and it would be foolish to demand radical and fundamental changes. But the reform drive of the '60s was propelled by a sense that things were very wrong in American society and that only sweeping changes would turn things around. Reformers charged that political processes in this country were hardly so healthy and the outcomes were by no means just.[13] The pluralists, they contended, had a lopsided view of social reality: their theories and methodology dealt with only a portion of that reality but they treated it as a description of all of reality. Participants in the process of bargaining and compromise that they described represented only the "haves" in our society and effectively ignored the interests of the "have-nots" -- those who were poor and without power. Analysis of the functioning of the political system from the perspective of have-nots required drastically revised descriptions of "reality" and new theoretical approaches to explain it. Pluralist theory, they insisted, was not adequate to this task. Its normative assumptions were tainted -- for it had concluded that American democracy represented the best of all possible worlds. And regardless of its normative biases, it overlooked important forces in American society that made the present different from the past, made the "new poor" different from the "old poor," and made it unlikely that the interests of the "new poor" would be readily accommodated by the system.

The reformers pointed to several notable differences between present and past, particularly the breakdown of the old opportunity structure that had facilitated the economic and social mobility of white ethnic groups in the past.[14] There were, for instance, structural changes in the American economy that reduced its capacity to absorb large numbers of illiterate unskilled workers.[15] And there was the general solidification of a formerly fluid occupational and social structure that accompanied the maturation of a developing economy. Real power in American cities had shifted from community-based wards that catered to the interests of "outsider" groups such as immigrants. Power was now based in occupational groups, each of which had over time built protective walls around the interests of its members, those who had already attained "insider" positions.[16] Consequently, "new" groups outside each occupational power base were permanently excluded -- the have-nots were assigned permanently to have-not status by the structures, procedures, traditions, and mores of the occupational power groups. The result of this was a further notable difference between present and past. The "insider" and "outsider" groups now differed along racial lines: the white ethnic groups were permanently "in" and the nonwhite minorities were permanently "out," and the insiders were not about to voluntarily relinquish their privileged status. Whether the structure was resistant to accommodating to the interests of the "new poor" because they were nonwhite or because they were simply outside its protection made little difference in terms of practical effect -- the perpetuation of a maldistribution of opportunities along racial lines.

On this basis, then, the reformers were able to reject the contentions of pluralist political theory and its corollary of ethnic succession. They were able to argue instead that the conditions under which the "new poor" labored and failed were different from those experienced by any group of urban poor who preceded them in American history. But the coup de grâce in this insistence of the reformers on the distinctiveness of this "new poor" were the related notions of a poverty cycle and a poverty culture.

The Poverty Cycle and Poverty Culture

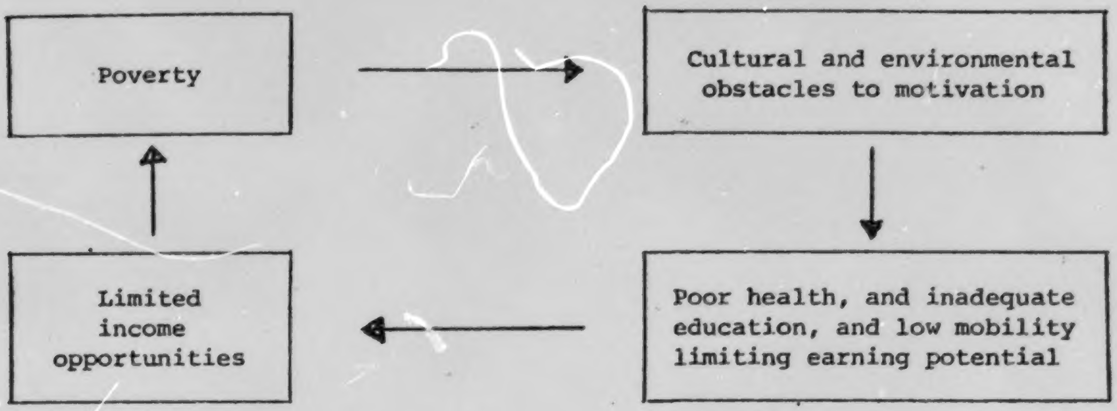
The power ideology gave a great deal of emphasis to the psychological environment of the "new poor." The poor were described in terms of a culture (or subculture) of poverty, characterized by a distinctive syndrome of personality attributes that paralyzed their wills and made them unable to help themselves. These traits included anomie, distrust, fatalism, defeatism, present rather than future time perspective, an inability to defer gratification, feelings of lack of worth, apathy, negativism, and a sense of hopelessness and despair.[17]

What created this culture of poverty was, first, the hopelessness of their economic situation and, second, the affluence that surrounded them and thereby mocked them as different, degraded, and somehow responsible for their own plight. In economic terms they were better off than the poor of the past or the Third World poor of today. In psychological terms, however, according to this argument, their poverty was far worse because of its corroding effects on the individual psyche. The concept of relative deprivation was developed to describe the psychological deprivation of the poor in a nation of affluence. This relative deprivation, it was argued, made the poor "impervious to hope" -- made them feel like rejects who were permanently excluded from the affluence that surrounded them. And because of that affluence, the new poverty had a stigma attached to it that was unlike the universal poverty of the depression years or the poverty in the Third World today.[18] The effect was to dampen their aspirations and their wills to escape poverty and to make them unable to seize opportunities. Poverty bred poverty in a vicious self-perpectuating cycle of poverty: one generation passed on to the next both their limited opportunities for education and acquisition of skills and the personality predispositions and cultural conditioning that made them unable to help themselves. Poverty was "an inherited disability to respond to opportunity."[19]

As summarized by one observer, the poverty cycle operated as follows:

> Persistent unemployment and underemployment contribute to the debilitation of an individual both economically and psychologically, and when added to the system of rewards offered by the welfare system, tend to lead to the disintegration of stable family life. This in turn contributes to low educational achievement in the young that, when combined with inadequate community services such as housing and medical care, adds to the difficulties of finding a job. Without a job and without the ability to train oneself for a job, the poor man becomes a drifter at best or a delinquent at worst, and the poor woman produces more children to grow up in an ever-worsening environment.[20]

A second analyst represented the poverty cycle schematically as follows:[21]


Poverty
Cultural and environmental obstacles to motivation
Poor health, and inadequate education, and low mobility limiting earning potential
Limited income opportunities

Two points about this poverty cycle concept merit underscoring. First, this thread in the poverty ideology brought reform theorists into the realm of the psychological and impressed on them the potency of attitudes as causal forces explaining behaviors. We have previously seen the importance of this approach to attitudes as causal in the decentralization/community control rationale, and we can see here how this notion was "in the air" as part of the intellectual climate of the '60s. Second, the poverty cycle portrayal made the problem seem so all-pervasive and overpowering that massive intervention at all points in the cycle seem justified.[22]

The poverty program encompassed a whole range of intervention strategies, but the one that was most affected by -- and had the most powerful impact on -- the intellectual climate of the '60s was mobilization of mass participation in the War on Poverty's controversial community action program.[23]

The Participation Strategy

Participation of the poor in the poverty program was expected to counteract two of the key factors that kept the poor locked out of whatever opportunity structure was still available in American society. On the one hand, participation in actions on their own behalf would reverse the debilitating psychological effects of poverty, enabling the poor to be better equipped to seize opportunities if and when they did become available. On the other hand, mobilization of the poor to define and defend their own interests would create a new power base to counter the power of entrenched bureaucrats, put sufficient pressure on the institutional structure to force it to again provide opportunities for the poor, and produce the kind of institutional change that would indeed be responsive to the poor. The government would provide the funds and the legitimacy for the organizing efforts and provide representatives of the poor with a role in the planning and administration of programs to serve their interests. They would have a voice in shaping decisions about what services would be provided, how they would be provided, and who would provide them. The outcome would be the desired social change the bureaucrats and welfare professionals had been unable to accomplish. Social change would be brought about quickly and easily, and there would be a redistribution of power and resources. The role of professionals and of social service agencies would be transformed to that of advocate and provider of technical resources to enable their clients to achieve the goals they themselves defined.[24]

Participation of the poor, then, was the key to the reform approach embodied in the poverty ideology. It was the means to bring about a reversal of institutional policies and practices that were unresponsive to the needs of the poor, and it was the psychological strategem expected to change the attitudes, motivations, behaviors, and ultimately the life-chances of the poor.

Civen the excitement these ideas stimulated in the '60s, it is little wonder that they emerged in numerous forms, applied to various institutions including the schools. When applied to the schools, though, these ideas raised new questions for educators and seemed to ignore or cast aside as irrelevant all the various concerns that had comprised the content of educational reform in the past. And these new concerns were raised in a context of blame-placing and motive-questioning that was bound to provoke resistance from those very educators whose cooperation was needed if the ideas were ever to be tested or implemented.

Were the "problems" of the schools attributable to unresponsiveness? Were the problems absent in settings where school administrators were responsive? Were low-income minority students achieving in such settings? Were students happier? Were parents more satisfied? Did parent or community participation increase responsiveness? How feasible was a participatory approach? How much of a gain in each desired outcome might be expected for a given target population under given changed conditions? How significant were these gains relative to alternative approaches to each of the desired outcomes?

Such questions do not seem to have been seriously entertained by the educational research community in these years. Policy analysis was absent. And consequently, neither the policy nor the research agenda to investigate it were developed systematically or pursued in a manner capable of yielding needed insights.

Had the field of educational policy research been in a more developed state at the time, it is conceivable that policy analysts would have made explicit the underlying assumptions of the decentralization/community control rationale, much as we attempted this in Chapter II. Sound policy analysis would likely have carried this process further by formulating alternative approaches that embodied somewhat different sets of plausible assumptions and then assessing the available evidence with regard to each approach and each set of assumptions. And if the field were in a more advanced state of development, policy analysis would have flowed into the design of policy experiments to fill a number of needs -- to determine the validity of critical assumptions on which there was inadequate evidence, to assess the feasibility of bringing about the changed conditions assumed by these policies as intermediate outcomes, and to evaluate the consequences of these changes once they were implemented under reasonably satisfactory conditions.

The intellectual climate of the '60s was not overly hospitable to such questioning and such testing. However, with the growing introspection that has come to characterize the field of social research in the last few years, we can look forward to a tempering of advocacy with scientific rigor and hopefully the rapid development of the specialization of policy analysis in education and other social policy areas.

DECENTRALIZATION/COMMUNITY CONTROL RESEARCH AND THE METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS OF SOCIAL ACTION RESEARCH IN THE 1960's: THE NEED FOR POLICY EXPERIMENTS

We have considered one explanation of why the researchers who investigated decentralization and community control in operation proceeded as they did. They raised few questions about the validity of their assumptions since their ideas were "in the air," taken for granted, assumed to be the substance of reality. They approached their investigations from the advocacy perspective of proving rather than the scientific orientation of testing. But even if what was desired was proof of a proposition rather than testing a hypothesis, more rigorous research designs would surely have better served their purposes than the loose, uncontrolled, narrative kind of studies they produced. Their designs were inadequate to rule out alternative explanations for their findings and left unanswered most of the critical questions we might ask about the viability of these reform strategies.

Why, then, did they proceed in this manner? The ICS researchers provided an explanation in their introduction to Demonstration for Social Change.[25] They contended that much of traditional social science research methodology is inappropriate for detecting the kinds of changes social reformers are trying to produce. Drawing heavily on the work of Weiss and Rein,[26] they argued the need for "a more qualitative, process-oriented approach" to evaluation, i.e., the narrative, journalistic style of research they tended to employ.

The debate over appropriate methodology for the evaluation of social action programs has intensified in recent years and a voluminous literature is emerging.[27] Therefore, we should consider the methodological issue carefully for its bearing on understanding why we have learned so little about the effectiveness of decentralization and community control in operation and for its wider implications for the management of a national program of educational policy research in the future.

Weiss and Rein described many of the social programs of the '60s as "broad-aim programs," concerned largely with changing a situation -- a context in which individuals function. Individual change was of secondary importance in these programs. The primary goals involved social or situational change. Goals of such programs were diffuse and difficult to specify in operational terms. They were usually described in such phrases as "increased opportunity," "a richer cultural atmosphere," or "a more responsive institutional structure."

Traditional research methodology is oriented to detecting program impact on individuals. It requires great specificity in operationalizing goals and prior definition of criteria to be used in judging whether or not these goals have been met. Such requirements, argued Weiss and Rein, made traditional methodology inappropriate for the evaluation of broad-aim programs. Further, the use of experimental or quasi-experimental designs requires study of significant numbers of similar entities and careful controls on the conditions under which an experimental treatment is implemented -- virtual impossibilities in community-level research in real reform contexts.

Broad-aim programs, according to Weiss and Rein, are inevitably ambiguous. They involve relatively unknown phenomena, unknown interactions, and unknown forms. The very nature of the goals of such programs -- increased institutional responsiveness and the like -- make it difficult to anticipate just how these outcomes will manifest themselves or just what the new situation will look like if the program is successful. To select ahead of time a small number of forms defined operationally and then to restrict the evaluation process to measuring changes on only these dimensions is likely to result in overlooking important unanticipated changes that might prove to be of greater consequence than those selected for study. Use of traditional outcome measures (such as achievement tests or attitude scales with a long history in the literature) may well be irrelevant to the goals of the new program. Hostility of program administrators to evaluators may well be explained by their justified fears of the outcomes being measured, the tools used to assess such outcomes, and research designs that lock evaluators into searching for one set of outcomes while the program has evolved and moved in a new direction. If the success of the program administrators is to be judged by measures and methods that are irrelevant to program objectives, the judgment of program failure seems inevitable.

Weiss and Rein described what is important in broad-aim programs as the unfolding process -- "ways in which the institutional system of the area responded and was itself affected by the program." The critical evaluation question as they described it was not "Does the program work?" but rather "What happens in an area when you introduce such a program?" -- or "How does an intervention interact with its surroundings and what can we learn about its consequences?" The focus of such an effort is not measuring or assessing so much as gaining new insight from what is happening. Weiss and Rein argued, therefore, for "a more qualitative, process-oriented approach" to evaluation that is open to the whole range of unfolding changes. The approach is necessarily less systematic and decidedly less quantitative. It is more intuitive and descriptive, relying heavily on such approaches as participant observation and in-depth interviewing. It requires insight and understanding rather than a rigorous step-by-step methodology of the kind used in hypothesis testing. It does not permit replication. It is exploratory research in a sense, useful for generating hypotheses that can be tested in future systematic studies.

The ICS researchers believed they were using the process-oriented research approach advocated by Weiss and Rein. However, when the ICS research output is assessed against the Weiss and Rein description of that approach, the research appears to fall short of even the few demands for rigor made by that approach. We have been able to discern no conceptual or methodological framework underlying the ICS efforts, simply journalistic narrative with fairly traditional quantitative methods plugged in here and there. There is no attempt at systems analysis or at description of the dynamics of unfolding community processes and no conceptual orientation toward discerning particular kinds of interactions. It would seem that the Weiss and Rein citation is interpreted as justification for lack of forethought and lack of much in the way of conceptual clarity about what was being investigated -- and such lack of theoretical orientation or conceptualization is by no means necessary in the conduct of process-oriented research. And further, the ICS researchers used fairly conventional means to measure fairly conventional outcomes in many instances in their research so that clearly they did accept the fact that numerous expected outcomes could be specified and measured. Where clearly specified expected outcomes were not measured -- for instance, the gathering of participation data -- the explanation would seem to be found in oversight rather than intent.

Is the basic argument made by Weiss and Rein sound, regardless of how it was applied within this particular setting? We think not, if it is intended as a replacement for experimental design rather than a supplement to it. The approach does not preclude the effort to make policy assumptions explicit and test these in reasonably systematic fashion while a research team is open to probing the meaning of an unfolding unanticipated process. Experimental and quasi-experimental designs can be applied to community settings even for broad-aim programs if approached with imagination and insight. Policy development requires information about what works, not simply what processes are unfolding. And if sound policy is to be developed, we see no reasonable alternatives to rigorous policy experiments to secure needed information. Journalistic descriptions and intuitive conclusions about program success or failure will not fill the need. The needed response to the limited state of development of experimental and quasi-experimental methodology for application to broad-aim programs is not to turn to a less powerful approach. Rather, what is needed is support for work that will stimulate and further the needed methodological developments and advance the state of the field of social policy research.

DECENTRALIZATION/COMMUNITY CONTROL RESEARCH AND THE LIMITED STATE OF DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY RESEARCH IN THE 1960's: THE NEED FOR ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF A NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY RESEARCH AGENDA

We have already noted one of the curious circumstances of research on decentralization and community control, i.e., the virtual monopoly on the subject held by the ICS researchers. Given the methodological predilections of the ICS staff toward process-oriented research and the debate among social action researchers about the relative benefits to be derived from the experimental or the more qualitative approaches to evaluation research, we can only regret that additional research was not conducted on these strategies by investigators employing a more rigorous, experimental approach.

We have no way of knowing whether the limited research output on this subject reflected limited interest on the part of the research community or the considerable difficulties researchers had to overcome if they were to pursue investigation in this area. From the relative lack of attention to these strategies at the annual conventions of such professional associations as the American Educational Research Association, American Political Science Association, and American Sociological Association,[28] limited interest may well have been part of the problem. But clearly even the researcher interested in these strategies had to face a number of discouraging problems.

First, there was the not insignificant problem of delineating a researchable question. In the manner predicted by Weiss and Rein, defining in advance precisely what needed to be studied in a situation with all the ambiguity of a "broad-aim social program" was no simple task. And the task was made even more complicated by the constantly shifting ground of the experiments' stormy political histories. Even if this initial obstacle of problem definition were overcome, the actions of government officials, community activists, and leaders of the projects were uncontrollable and unpredictable. To a researcher intent on rigorous design, controls, and the like, the research context was clearly too messy. Most likely, he believed his research context to be untenable for all but the journalistic approach to research -- an approach he probably found unattractive, for it could not produce the kind of data he wished to obtain.

If somehow the researcher were able to overcome these hurdles, define a researchable problem, and develop a reasonably flexible but at the same time acceptably systematic design, he confronted a second serious problem which must have led to the demise of several researchers' plans.[29] It was difficult if not virtually impossible for researchers to gain access to these experiments, especially for investigators independent of project auspices, studying questions that might conceivably lead to negative findings of project effectiveness. Project administrators tended to be preoccupied with political life-and-death struggles that made research seem at best a luxury for which they could spare neither the time nor the resources inherent in research cooperation, at worst part of an establishment plot to prove them failures, or somewhere in between either a nuisance or a venture they had to consider irrelevant given the different priorities and the inherent conflicts between the needs of research and action.[30] And too, this was a period in which most social researchers tended to be white, most social research was conducted in black communities, and increasing disgust was expressed in black communities about researchers who advanced their careers by studying blacks, publishing their results, and then leaving the communities no better off than they were before.[31]

Those few researchers who might have overcome the access problem faced the further problem of securing research funding. We have no way of knowing how many research proposals were forwarded to the usual research funding agencies and rejected either because of judgments about the merits of the work proposed or the agencies' lack of interest in funding research on these strategies. However, the history of research funding in the '60s suggests that the announcement of an agency's interest in research on a particular subject has generally led to expansion of research in that area. We know of no such research funding program ever announced by OE or OEO and no research on these strategies solicited by these agencies. Even the governmental agencies who authorized decentralization experiments (for instance, the New York City Board of Education and the New York State Legislature) showed limited interest in securing evaluations of the projects in operation.[32]

Specific analytical efforts leading to publications were supported by the Urban Institute[33] and the Carnegie Corporation.[34] The Brookings Institution sponsored a conference on community control and the subsequent publication of papers presented at this conference.[35] However, other than these efforts, the Ford Foundation's support for the ICS researchers was the only other private-sector funding of empirical research on these strategies -- at least as far as we know. Even with our limited information, then, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the research funding environment at that time was not a force that stimulated the research community to respond to the need for useful and reliable information about the viability of these strategies.

Could OE or some agency of the federal government or a foundation have established and supported a research program in the late 1960's to determine the viability of these strategies in operation? Clearly, it would have been difficult. The sites in which decentralization and community control were implemented were scattered across the country. They were local and unconnected, private as well as public. The federal government lacked the leverage on these projects needed to induce a large scale experiment of the planned variation type proposed for the Follow-Through program. And even where such leverage can be developed through funding incentives, the Follow-Through experience suggests that it is often ineffective in securing the conditions needed for a sound policy experiment.[36] OE lacked the analytical apparatus to develop a policy experiment whether of the natural experiment or specially-created planned experiment variety, although HEW and OEO were developing organizational capabilities for the conduct of policy analysis and experiments.[37]

If government agencies had taken the initiative here, could the educational policy research community have responded adequately to the need for systematic research in this area? Probably, in some limited way. The difficulty is that there is hardly an educational policy research community as such. There is no professional association of educational policy researchers or even social policy researchers. There is no journal specifically devoted to questions of educational policy research. The field is comprised of researchers from diverse disciplines and areas of interest who do not share a common body of assumptions about how policy research should proceed, how policy researchers should be trained, or what criteria should be used to judge the soundness of a given analysis or empirical investigation. The techniques and procedures borrowed from the disciplines have been adapted to the needs of policy research with varying degrees of adequacy, or inadequacy. And considerable methodological development is still needed.

If policy questions on strategies like decentralization and community control are to be answered in the future, it may take a major effort by an agency like NIE to design and manage a national educational policy research agenda that will stimulate the development of the field while securing answers to policy-relevant questions.

PART II

THEORY VS. EXISTING EVIDENCE: DATA FROM THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL ACTION EVALUATIONS

We contended in Part I that existing empirical research on decentralization and community control was not addressed to the problem of systematically testing the assumptions underlying the policy rationale. In Part II, we consider the extent to which the accumulated data base in the social science disciplines and the applied fields of education and evaluation of social action programs permits such testing.

In attempting to apply this available data base to assessing such participatory policies as decentralization and community control, we must reckon with several problems. Some of these are definitional problems. Participation is not a unitary concept. It implies a vast range of forms that differ in content, purposes, and consequences. If we are to avoid serious pitfalls, we must distinguish the forms of participation implied by particular hypotheses. And we must keep these distinctions in mind in determining the relevance of particular data sets to testing the validity of these hypotheses. We consider these definitional problems in Chapter V.

A second set of problems involves the limitations of data gathered under past or present conditions for assessing the validity of policy assumptions about what might be true under a somewhat different set of future conditions. These difficulties are complicated further by problems inherent in the data themselves and the causal inferences often made in interpreting them. We discuss these methodological problems in Chapter VI.

Cognizant of the cautions raised in Chapters V and VI, in the remainder of Part II we assess the extent to which existing theoretical and empirical knowledge enables us to test the various assumptions in the decentralization/community control rationale.

In Chapters VII and VIII, we examine evidence on the assumed consequences of these strategies -- the hypothesized effects on academic achievement, student attitudes, school responsiveness, community development, and parental satisfaction. We gradually narrow the focus of our analysis from the whole range of outcomes predicted in the decentralization/community control causal model to the one outcome and causal path to this outcome suggested by our analysis to have the greatest potential for yielding new insights if pursued in sufficient depth.

In Chapters VIII, IX, and X, we deal with the decentralization/community control strategy from the perspective of a reform approach concerned with transforming schools into institutions that are more satisfying to their parent-clients. We review evidence on the various factors assumed to account for parental satisfaction with the schools. We then narrow our focus to the one factor that appears from available data to provide the greatest potential payoff for increasing satisfaction -- i.e., stimulating greater parent participation in school affairs. We assess the feasibility of increasing participation levels through the various mechanisms reformers have proposed. And finally, we try to appraise the extent to which participatory strategies can be expected to affect the satisfaction levels of parents with different attributes functioning in different settings under different conditions. We conclude Part II by pointing to some of the limitations of the available published evidence for shedding light on what we view as the central policy question for assessing the viability of decentralization, community control, and other participatory strategies.

CHAPTER V

DEFINITIONAL PROBLEMS

Participation is clearly the critical variable in the assumptions underlying the decentralization/community control rationale. But much of the literature fails to make clear precisely what policy inputs or outcomes are assumed by the term "participation." The phrases "parent participation" and "parent involvement" have had a long history in educational literature, but the traditional usage is intended to convey a set of arrangements rather different from those assumed in community-oriented approaches to the proper relationship between school personnel and the communities they serve. There was inevitable confusion over the reformers' use of these same phrases to convey both traditional notions about bringing parents into contact with school personnel and also what were essentially new (or at least unconventional) modes of interaction between school and community. All parties to the debate favored parent "participation" and "involvement," but the consensus broke down into bitter warfare when the controversy turned from rhetorical generalities to the specifics of operationalization and implementation.

It is our intent in Part II to apply the available data base from the social sciences and applied fields to assessing the validity of the participatory assumptions underlying the decentralization/community control rationale. Any attempt to test hypotheses about participation requires clarity about the forms of participation implied in particular hypotheses and the appropriateness of using particular data sets for testing these hypotheses. We shall consider these definitional and methodological problems in this and the following chapter.

TRADITIONAL FORMS OF PARENT PARTICIPATION

The traditional and reform usages emerged out of rather different school-community climates. We have already discussed at some length the atmosphere of distrust and conflict that gave rise to the reform view of parent participation. The traditional view, in contrast, developed in a setting that reflected a general school-community consensus on fundamental values[1] and educational goals, a faith and trust in educators as competent to perform their tasks and sympathetic to community interests, and an assumption that educational decisions involved technical expertise and could best be delegated to professionals.

The traditional parent role has been passive recipient of information from school personnel, occasional reviewer of school policy in school board and financial elections, and generator of support for school policies in citizen committees and parent organizations. In most parts of the country, and for most parents, this is still the extent of the role parents play.

These traditional forms of parental involvement have long been accepted by educators as desirable and perhaps even essential. One of the basic tenets of school administration would seem to be the belief that the active and informed parent is the satisfied and supportive parent. It has generally been assumed that the more contact school personnel have with the community, the more the community becomes aware of the school's needs, and therefore the more likely citizens will be to support the schools in school financial elections. And similarly, the more likely citizen committees will be to exercise influence and pressure in the interests of the schools.[2]

Textbooks and pamphlets on school administration and school-community relations have emphasized the need for public participation as a means to promote closer home-school ties, and they have devoted extensive amounts of space to arrangements intended to promote communication and parent or citizen participation.[3] However, it is clear throughout these books that the primary intent of these forms of participation is to increase support for the decisions and policy preferences of school personnel, with only secondary concern for using these arrangements to learn about the desires, demands, and concerns of community residents. Some of these books occasionally talk about the need for two-way rather than one-way communication between school and home. But what they seem to mean, at most, is using parent input to sensitize teachers or to make curriculum more responsive. What is clearly not intended is parent input of the kind that challenges educators' premises, policy preferences, decisions, or actions.[4] Even where there is an explicit call for a citizen role in policy formation, this is clearly qualified by the assumption, if not insistence, that professionals will exercise the leadership role.[5] It is also clear from these books that even boards of education, established to assure lay control over educational policy, serve largely to legitimate decisions made by school administrators.[6]

These sources usually give lip service to the democratic principle that those affected should participate in making decisions. However, they then go on to discuss participation in a manner that makes clear the passive kind of participation intended: parents participate as information receivers. They receive the kind of information that gives them a better "understanding" of school needs and makes them more supportive of decisions already made for them by school officials.[7] Consequently, this approach to parent involvement has been dubbed by Dale Mann as the "public relations" model of school-community relations. He summarized the key features of the model as follows:

> That model concentrates on one-way communications, selectively stresses support, assigns citizens a passive and dependent consumer role, and preserves the autonomy of professionals. Citizen involvement, regardless of the intent with which it is offered, is acceptably only if it is supportive and even then it is carefully restricted to trivial and tangential concerns.[8]

The traditional forms of participation are not the "participation" involved as tactic or as demand in the participatory upsurge of the 60s. The traditional usage involves a universally accepted behavior that has been described in such terms as the following: "as American as apple pie,"[9] or as "a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you."[10] Indeed low participation levels for these traditional forms are frequently a cause of complaint in school literature, as administrators bemoan parent apathy and assume alienation and hostility of ghetto parents can be overcome only if they can be "reached" and brought into the school as active "participants."[11]

REFORMERS' REDEFINITION OF PARENT PARTICIPATION

Participation became controversial when it was redefined to imply, using Verba's analysis, a demand by groups new to active roles in the political process, raising new issues, by means of new forms of participation -- and we could add, demanding new kinds of participatory mechanisms to institutionalize this redefined participation. As Sherry Arnstein made the point,

> Participation of the governed in their government is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy -- a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone. The applause is reduced to polite handclaps, however, when this principle is advocated by the have-not blacks, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Eskimos and whites. And when the have-nots define

> participation as redistribution of power, the American consensus on the fundamental principle explodes into many shades of outright racial, ethnic, ideological, and political opposition.[12]

The reform usage shifts the directional emphasis in participation. There is less concern with the participation that flows from school to community, providing information and building support for policies and decisions preferred by school professionals. Instead, attention is focused on participation as a policy input, flowing from community residents to school personnel. In contrast to the fundamental value consensus assumed by the traditional usage, the conflict context of the reform usage is emphasized. The intent of this participation is to change a situation characterized by institutional unresponsiveness and failure. Participation is defined in redistributive terms, as a reallocation of power between school and community so as to ultimately change "the distribution of benefits or losses" resulting from decisions.[13] The objectives of this participation are not to build support for the existing institution as in traditional forms of participation. Rather, the intent is to change the power relationships through which the institution functions, and thereby change the institution, its products, and the general position of the "powerless" in the institution and in the broader community. And most often, the population of concern in discussing the "powerless" is not simply any average parent or citizen, but the powerless parent or citizen who resides in a community that is both poor and black (or possibly Puerto Rican or Mexican-American or Native American).[14]

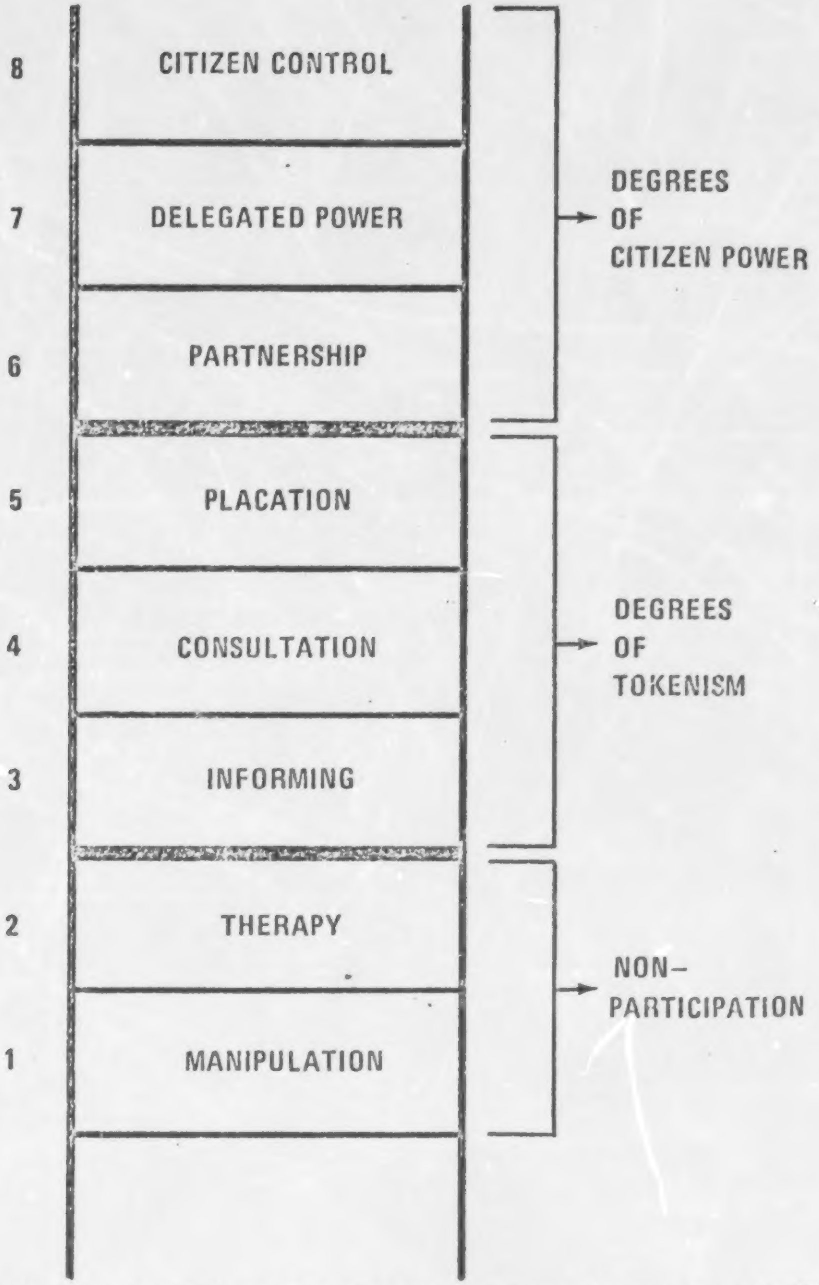
The reform usage, then, defines participation in terms of influence for the parent or citizen and the institutionalization of substantial power for his representatives inside governing mechanisms.[15] It is viewed by reformers in sharp contrast to the more traditional passive forms of participation, which they describe with such terms as "nonparticipation" or "manipulative" participation.[16] It is also seen as of a different order from the pseudo-reform types of community involvement developed by school systems and local governments to offset demands for "community control" without granting actual power or influence. These latter forms are treated with contempt by reformers and critics who dub them "empty ritual," "window dressing," "charade," "cynical fraud," and the like.[17]

FORMS OF PARTICIPATION: DEGREES OF CITIZEN POWER

The distinctions among participatory forms that fit what we are calling the traditional, pseudo-reform, and reform usages involve differences in the purposes of those who established particular participatory arrangements, and gradations in the actual participant power and influence inherent in these arrangements. Several analysts have distinguished among forms of participation that emerged in the social reforms of the '60s, and some have developed typologies for categorizing forms or models of participation in terms of various dimensions.[18] For our purposes, the most useful of these schemes was developed by Sherry Arnstein.[19]

Arnstein's eight-stage ladder of citizen participation is reproduced as Figure II on page 158. At successively higher rungs of the ladder, arrangements involve greater degrees of citizen power in decisionmaking. At the lowest two rungs, the arrangements provide no real participation in the policy process. The intent of the participation at the manipulation stage is to "educate" the citizen to a particular position favored by the power holder (e.g., to favor urban renewal of his neighborhood, or to vote a higher tax levy to support the schools). It is primarily a public relations effort of persuasion to legitimate a program desired by powerholders

FIGURE II


8
CITIZEN CONTROL
7
DELEGATED POWER
6
PARTNERSHIP
5
PLACATION
4
CONSULTATION
3
INFORMING
2
THERAPY
1
MANIPULATION
DEGREES OF CITIZEN POWER
DEGREES OF TOKENISM
NON-PARTICIPATION

EIGHT RUNGS ON THE LADDER OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION
By Sherry R. Arnstein

and to engineer the consent of the citizenry -- either because this consent is required by law or because organized opposition could delay the program or block it completely. Manipulative participation, then, helps powerholders manage discontent. It acts as a safety valve to permit the discontented to "blow off steam." At the same time, it coopts residents to an acceptance of the program, since presumably they develop an attachment to a plan they think they played a role in shaping.[20]

A variant of the "engineered consent" rationale is the manipulative use of participation to develop a constituency for a program or an agency, to be helpful to powerholders when they need pressure exerted in their behalf (for instance to secure needed funding). PTAs have long served this function for school administrators, and poverty corporations often performed this role for big city mayors.[21]

The "therapy" form of participation, so prevalent in the poverty program, was intended to "cure" participants of what powerholders viewed as participants' pathologies: their attitudes, values, and behaviors were to be changed to conform more closely to those viewed by the dominant group as acceptable or appropriate. The act of participation was assumed to help people overcome their apathy and suggest to them that change was possible. Participation as therapy was intended to decrease alienation, and especially a sense of powerlessness.

The participation-as-therapy approach can be found in the analyses of two rather different groups of writers: both those concerned with managing discontent so as to insure social peace, and those concerned with increasing discontent so as to bring about social change. The argument of those interested in managing discontent is that participation produces a self-image of importance, self-respect, and belonging, gives the participant an increased feeling that he has a stake in society, an increased faith in the system, and an increased willingness to comply with the terms of America's "social contract."[22] In the meantime, participants involved in such therapeutic programs would be diverted from dealing with fundamental issues, challenging the policy preferences of those in power, or in any way affecting the status quo.[23] In contrast, the arguments of those desirous of increasing discontent stress not only the self-confidence that comes from participation, but also the radicalizing effect of participation when the response of officials to participants' demands is inadequate, as it would tend to be when the demands require significant social change.[24]

The next three rungs of the ladder are described by Arnstein as various degrees of tokenism that permit citizens "to hear and to have a voice" but provide no assurance that the views or interests of the "participants" will be taken into account. Informing is the rung of Arnstein's ladder most applicable to parent participation in educational affairs. It involves a one-way information flow from officials to citizens "with no channel provided for feedback and no power for negotiation." The participant acts as a generally passive recipient of information. Officials who use this approach assume an atmosphere of consensus rather than conflict. The audience is assumed to share the officials' formulation of the desired goals and to generally support the officials' orientations toward preferred means to achieve those goals. Therefore, an information flow to citizens is expected to increase their understanding of the officials' needs and views and to therefore generate increased support.

Consultation provides a higher level of involvement since citizen opinions are solicited. Whether this participation is largely manipulative or whether it is intended as meaningful advice-giving, or whether it is motivated by the assumption that such a citizen role is necessary to insure that the plan is implemented without major community opposition, it remains at a purely advisory level. Still, both officials and community spokesmen have argued for participation of this kind as advantageous. Input from citizens can provide valuable information to decisionmakers about the felt needs of the population to be served, the effectiveness of previous decisions or programs, and how best to administer programs or implement decisions in a manner that citizens find satisfying (or at least minimally burdensom).[25] Consequently, programs can be developed that are more responsive to felt needs, and service delivery systems can be humanized to provide services in a more satisfying manner.

The four highest rungs of the ladder involve either the form or substance of policy power for a small elite of citizen representatives. Placation carries the form of participation further than those rungs depicted below it, for here citizen representatives have formal positions on policy boards. However, placation arrangements are so structured that these representatives are outnumbered, and powerholders continue to hold decisive control.[26]

Substantive policy roles for citizen representatives are institutionalized on the three highest rungs of Arnstein's ladder. Under partnership arrangements, power is shared in some policy or joint planning groups made up of representatives of both citizen groups and government agencies. Neither side can unilaterally change the ground rules of the arrangement, and both have the power needed to negotiate compromises.

Delegated power arrangements involve citizen domination of policy boards that make decisions in a given area (for instance, the CAAs or Model Cities policy boards that had citizen majorities). However, control is not complete in this arrangement. An intermediary external agent exists between the policy board and its funding source. The board is therefore dependent on the will of this external agent (e.g., the mayor or city council) for its funding.

Citizen (or neighborhood) control, the purest form of control, provides for complete control over a policy decision area by a citizen governing body and entails no intermediary between this body and its funds.

On these levels of citizen participation where substantive power is involved, it becomes critical in differentiating degrees of power to analyze the point(s) in the decision process where citizen power is exerted. In Figure III, we have depicted dimensions we view as useful for this purpose. The column headings differentiate degrees of power by distinguishing whether citizen participation is permitted to take place before, during, or only after the stage when a decision is actually made. The scheme assumes the greatest amount of power inheres in those forms of participation that permit citizens to challenge basic assumptions and priorities and to formulate their own ideas or propose ideas developed by others (e.g., advocate planners). In other words, the greatest amount of power is involved in participation before rather than only during or after the stage in the deliberation process when a series of alternatives is narrowed down to a single proposal that can be accepted or rejected.[27]

The rows in Figure III differentiate among decisions of greater (A) and lesser (D) substance. Citizen involvement in deciding how a policy board is to be selected and what its powers will be (row A) is of major significance for setting limits on the exercise of board powers to deal with matters of type B, C, or D. Choice of ends (row B) involves more power than choice of means to an end (row C). And both involve more power

FIGURE III

DEGREES OF POWER AS A FUNCTION OF POINTS IN THE DECISION PROCESS WHERE POWER IS EXERCISED*

	I Power to initiate deliberations on ...	II Involvement in deliberations and making of decision on ...	III Exercise of veto over choices made by others on ...
A. Nature of decisionmaking mechanisms and rules by which they operate	1	2	3
B. Alternative policy goals	4	5	6
C. Alternative strategies and/or programs to achieve those goals	7	8	9
C. Procedural/administrative details of strategies or programs	10	11	12

---

*Type 1 involves the most power; type 12, the least.

than decisions on procedural and administrative matters (row D). Since much of the planning and implementation of programs is done by staff members rather than those who sit on policy boards -- and since much of the current furor has to do with the balance of power between citizen representatives on such policy boards and the bureaucrats and staff members charged with usurping policy powers -- the critical test is the point in the process where "choices [were] removed irrevocably from public scrutiny and reappraisal."[28] Clearly, the higher up in this 12-stage process that decisions were made without the involvement of citizen participation, the less real power is inherent in that participation.

The importance of these distinctions can be illustrated by examining the degree of power exercised by representatives of the poor in Community Action Agencies and in the Model Cities Program. Critics have charged that even where representatives of the poor sat on policy boards and exercised substantial power in planning and implementing programs, real decisionmaking power was exercised elsewhere, usually in Washington. Most of the available funds had to be spent on prepackaged national programs (e.g., Head Start), rather than "local initiative programs" shaped by the proposals of the local leadership. Consequently, the poor who sat on the policy boards of such agencies were devoting their decisionmaking energies to matters that were largely procedural and administrative. It was the epitome of "centrally programmed decentralization."[29] The limits of such participation have been described as follows:

> ... this kind of participation is carefully delimited, both as to the issues around which people should participate, and as to the forms participation should take.[30]
>
> ... this participation, for the most part, has come after the basic decisions on the nature of the program have been made in a prior planning process. Though participation on a policy-making body can influence the

> direction a program takes after its initial establishment, the fundamental purpose and administrative framework have already been established and maximum involvement of the poor cannot be claimed.[31]

Another example of the importance attributed to level A participation is provided by the decentralization controversy in New York City. Considerable frustration was voiced during this struggle by community leaders who insisted that decentralization was set up in such a way that it doomed community school boards to failure, irrelevance, or worse.[32] And as Boulton Demas pointed out in his analysis of the city's 1970 community school board elections, the "rules of the game" for choosing the school boards guaranteed that those elected would be least threatening to the status quo; and the carefully delimited powers of the school boards once elected further minimized the chances for radical change in areas where community control advocates desired the most fundamental changes -- "the rules of the game by which [community people] fought were counterproductive to their success" and were in reality weapons of the dominant group.[33]

PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS

The schemes depicted in Figures II and III differentiate among theoretically possible participatory forms. What becomes apparent when one considers the theoretical range of variability in participatory mechanisms is how limited has been the actual range of generally available forms.

The problem is especially pronounced when the area of concern is citizen participation in educational affairs. To graphically illustrate the nature of the problem, we have used Arnstein's scheme to categorize current participatory forms described in the educational literature and presented the results in Figure IV. The categorization suggests that existing forms of parent participation in educational affairs are either

FIGURE IV

FORMS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

IN EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS

8. Citizen Control	
7. Delegated Power	Boards of Education
6. Partnership	
5. Placation	Policy Boards School-Community Committees
4. Consultation	Citizen Committees and Advisory Councils Active P. A. Officer Role Paraprofessional Employment Parent-Initiated School Visiting Voting Attitude Surveys
3. Informing	School-Initiated School Visiting * Attendance at Meetings of P. A. or School Board Bulletins, Newsletters, Announcements
2. Therapy	Parent Training Programs P. A. Activities such as Cake Sales and Fund Drives Participation in Services ("Community School" Adult Education Day Care)
1. Manipulation	Attendance at Meetings of P. A. or School Board * Citizen Committees * Paraprofessional Employment Active P. A. Officer Role

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* A particular form, such as service on an advisory board or employment as a paraprofessional, may actually serve several purposes, implying different levels of influence at different times, or may imply one level of influence in one setting and a rather different level in another setting. Some advisory boards may simply be manipulated or represent placation mechanisms, while others may exert genuine influence on decisions. A paraprofessional may, during most of her working hours, serve merely as a hall monitor, with no role in any decision process. Such participation may represent little more than manipulative cooptation. However, at another time in her work, that same paraprofessional may serve on an advisory council with substantial influence, or may be relied on by a principal as a source of community input. In such cases, we have entered these participatory forms more than once, with an asterisk indicating our judgment of the most typical level of influence implied in the form.

of the manipulative or therapeutic nonparticipation types or represent degrees of tokenism. Dual classification of several of the forms suggests that even some of the token participation forms of the consultative and informing types overlap with forms that are basically manipulative.

Even the "newer" forms of the 60s, such as employment as paraprofessionals or aides, participation in the activities of a "community" school, participation in parent training programs, and even new roles on advisory and planning boards, tend to fall onto these lower rungs of the citizen participation ladder.[34] Evaluations of the functioning of paraprofessionals and aides indicate that at times those who serve in these new roles help to sensitize the school to the community viewpoint and make the schools more responsive to low-income minority-group populations. However, overall the paraprofessionals and aides tend to be coopted and supportive of the administrators who employ them. They function largely to reduce the routine work loads of teachers and to simplify administrative tasks such as monitoring the hallways and performing clerical chores. When they serve in participatory roles at all, they tend to either function as token community representatives on school-dominated councils or task forces, or act as liaison workers explaining the school to the community rather than the community to the school. There are many exceptions, of course, but in general, it would seem, the paraprofessional or aide has become part of the school establishment.[35]

In federally-sponsored educational programs in poverty areas, parent participation has tended to mean either involvement in parent training programs or parent roles on boards responsible for planning and implementing programs for their children. The content of parent training programs suggests that they are largely therapeutic in intent. They are designed primarily to affect parents' cognitive behaviors, i.e., how a mother interacts with her child, especially in those interactions aimed at helping the child to learn. Such training is focused on providing a mother with skills that increase her ability to help her child in school. In addition to (or sometimes instead of) the cognitive emphasis, many of these programs are aimed at altering the parents' values or attitudes.[36] The intent of these programs is to change the parent, not the school. The parent is trained to behave toward her child in a manner that school officials deem supportive of educational achievement. As Gordon observed in his review of some of these programs, "There does not seem to be much effort to understand what parents want which might modify the schools' organization, curriculum, or teaching styles to meet community needs."[37] The programs are geared to helping the mother help her child with his schoolwork. Rarely do such programs try to provide parents with participation or leadership skills needed to play a significant role in affecting educational decisionmaking.[38]

In contrast to parent training programs are efforts designed to provide a substantive role for parents in planning and administering educational programs. Head Start, Follow Through, and Title I ESEA programs include a requirement for parent participation in advisory committees. In some cases, the power of the advisory committees is real and substantial; in others, it is mere facade.[39] The extent to which they take initiative, participate in deliberations on policy, or merely rubber-stamp staff decisions varies. For the most part, however, parent participation in these governing bodies would seem to be on the level of placation, or at best a partnership arrangement with decisionmaking powers limited to the level of procedural or administrative details. The theoretical extreme of complete control has been realized in some of the small parent-initiated and parent-run ventures described in the ICS publications.[40] But small private schools, created by parents for their own children, and lacking long traditions, boards of directors, and the like, have provided examples of this theoretical extreme for some time.

Citizen participation in educational affairs, then, has been restricted generally to the forms depicted on the lower rungs of Arnstein's eight-stage ladder. And where there has been citizen participation in substantive policy roles --as on boards of education or program policy committees -- it has been limited for the most part to decisionmaking at the least critical points in the decision process and to matters of the least real substance.

Research on participation has been limited to the circumscribed range of existing participatory forms. The confines of social reality have bounded the possibilities explored in social research. Is such research, then, at all useful for assessing the validity of assumptions about what might be in some future reality? We turn to consideration of this question in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Given the broad range of operational meanings attached to the concept of participation and the relative newness of large-scale efforts to provide participatory mechanisms of substantive power for low-income citizens, we are immediately confronted with a number of weighty methodological problems. In attempting to bring social science knowledge to bear in assessing policy alternatives, we are forced to consider the limits of available data and some problems inherent in the social sciences themselves at their current state of development.

First, we must acknowledge something of a time lag in social science data. Available data tend to be addressed to questions social scientists debated and pursued in past decades. The burning questions of today will not be answered definitively for years. New questions tend to require new studies which take years to complete, with counter-studies, replications, and the like continuing the debate for years after that. New questions occasionally require the development of new research techniques, and often this involves years of debate on the validity of premises and procedures, and the inherent biases introduced.[1]

Consequently, on the subject of participation, available evidence is suited to answer the heatedly argued questions of past decades -- whether urban dwellers are the uprooted, alienated, isolated, nonparticipating atoms of mass society theorists;[2] whether the political process is basically a democratic and open process in which all interests are heard or an undemocratic, closed, and unjust process dominated by an elite that reaps an unfair share of society's rewards.[3] Even on these questions, the debate continues to some extent.[4]

A great deal has been learned about participation in the last three decades of research, and we shall review some of the data shortly. However, the data that have been collected involve, for the most part, a relatively restricted range of forms of participation -- those forms involving the least substantive power and especially those forms that demonstrate an individual's integration into his society (e.g., formal organizational membership, voting, meeting attendance, and the like). Available data tend to involve those forms most readily quantifiable, for which secondary sources of data provide reliable records (e.g., voting). Important gaps in the literature, then, involve just those forms of substantive participation that the reformers have defined as "meaningful" participation. Lacking are data on the more qualitative aspects of participation -- how people participate (e.g., degrees of activism, types of activist roles in types of organizations, and the like). And lacking are data that provide definitive answers to such current questions as the effects of different kinds of participation on different kinds of individuals and on the political system[5] and the extent to which participation rates can be affected by changes in such conditions as size of governmental unit, type of election, creation of new access channels, and the like.

Therefore, regardless of what evidence we can bring to bear on these questions, we must acknowledge that these data tell us about only a limited range of forms of participation -- "past" forms in a sense -- under past or present conditions. Yet the policy questions of relevance to us involve new forms of participation under new conditions. And it is these new conditions that are the critical input variables of the new proposals -- e.g., changing school district size, drawing district boundaries so as to stimulate and reinforce a sense of "community," and providing governing mechanisms that offer citizens access and influence. We cannot, then, ignore the biases introduced by trying to use past evidence, to assess the possibilities of bringing about future desired effects, under new conditions, created to change those very factors assumed to have been the causes of low participation rates in evidence from the past.[6] (Of course, this does not mean that past evidence is irrelevant. If opponents of participatory schemes can be faulted for tending to "ignore the reality of change," as Dale Rogers Marshall suggested in her review of the literature, proponents of participation can be faulted for tending to "ignore the past"[7] and assuming that social change is far simpler to bring about than contemporary history suggests.)

Beyond the time frame of the available data, we must consider a second serious problem. This difficulty involves the type of data available in large quantities and the appropriateness of the uses to which it is put. Most of the data are correlational in form, indicating simply that a relationship exists between the specified variables. Many of the uses to which these data are put, however, involve interpretations of directionality which go beyond what the correlations themselves tell us.

For instance, a correlation between parent participation rates and children's academic achievement has been interpreted as indicating that parents' participation in school affairs is a factor that affects how well their children perform -- in short, that parent participation is a cause of children's achievement. However, it is equally plausible to suggest that the true direction of the relationship is precisely the opposite -- that, in fact, children's achievement levels may affect parents' satisfaction with the schools and their consequent willingness to participate in school affairs. In other words, children's achievement may influence levels of parent participation. Or, even more likely, both parent participation and children's achievement may be related to another, antecedent variable -- family SES -- which is in fact the cause of both parent participation and children's achievement. If the latter is true, then the relationship between parent participation and children's achievement is spurious.

Time and time again, throughout this review, we will encounter this problem of questionable directional interpretations of correlational data. This will be particularly true when we review the treatment of attitudes in this literature. Repeatedly, attitudes are interpreted as causal factors rather than as consequences. If attitudes cause behaviors, then policies aimed at changing a specified set of attitudes can be expected to result in a related set of behavioral changes. For instance, if a student's sense of control over his environment functions to motivate him to study harder and achieve at a higher level, then policies aimed at increasing that sense of control can be expected to lead to higher achievement levels. However, if on the other hand, sense of control is a consequence rather than a cause of academic achievement, then efforts to increase sense of control make little sense if the objective is raising achievement levels.

We are, then, severely limited in the policy implications we can draw from correlational data. Well-designed, policy-relevant survey research may tell us what is wrong now and perhaps why. But large inferential leaps are needed to get from this kind of research to policy decisions about what should be done and how, and such broad leaps are rarely warranted. Survey research is suited to telling us what may be true now, but not what might be true under different conditions.[8] To assess policy impact, experimental or quasi-experimental research is needed, and we are currently seeing only the beginnings of work on social policy experiments.

Consequently, the current state of development of social science methodology is a problem for those concerned with social change and with policies to stimulate such change. The study of social change is one of the least developed subject areas within the social sciences.[9] According to some critics, the social sciences by their very nature and the strengths and weaknesses of their methodology are biased against social change. Alan Altshuler, for instance, argued this point as follows:

> Social science tends toward the static view. It is helpful in explaining how things got the way they are, but its understanding is too crude to support forecasts of where they will go from here. This is least so where trends are measurable and steady, but these qualifiers have little bearing on the present subject.
>
> American social science, reflecting the stability of this country's social and political patterns, has tended to make of its limits an ideology. Its primary concern has been how to explain "fundamental" (i.e., stable) rather than transient phenomena or the process of change itself. Thus it has been preoccupied (a) with the obstacles to change, (b) with the basic satisfaction of the American people, on which these obstacles have rested, (c) with the benefits of social peace and gradualism. It has tended till recently both to ignore the study of revolution and to deprecate the possibility of bringing about rapid social change by illegal means.[10]

A variant of this argument is the charge, made frequently by change-oriented analysts, that social scientists have tended to study what is rather than what ought to be or what might be under improved conditions. Social scientists, according to this argument, have studied who participates and why so few people participate rather than how to increase participation. They have defined what is feasible within the limits of current political realities rather than studying how to change these political realities so that a broader range of options can become feasible. And, despite the traditional assumption of social scientists that studying what is rather than what "ought" to be is a more value-free objective approach, change-oriented young turks in the social sciences insist that the traditional stance merely rationalizes the status quo and the values that buttress that status quo. Since there is little public participation in the policy process, traditional social scientists, according to these critics, make light of the need for participation, describe the destructive effects of mass participation, and suggest that the political system functions best with this limited participation. Political scientists and sociologists study those who have power and the effects of decisions on the system as a whole. They ignore those who lack power and the negative consequences of this on the life chances of the powerless.[11] If these criticisms are valid, then we must be prepared to find the accumulated social science evidence biased against the assumptions of social reformers and weighed heavily against the prospects for social change.

What this review of methodological problems suggests is that any attempt to use available social science evidence to test the viability of change strategies must take cognizance of two possible lines of criticism. If the evidence is drawn from past research or from current survey-type research, then reformers can attack the evidence as irrelevant: the reforms involve creating new conditions and, therefore, their viability cannot be tested from evidence gathered under past or present conditions. If the evidence is drawn from recent evaluations of controversial programs (e.g., community controlled school districts or community action programs), reformers can argue that the conditions under which the programs were implemented made them inadequate or even unfair as tests of the policy under investigation.[12]

Still, it would seem foolish to ignore available evidence. So long as we are conscious of the limits of our present knowledge, there is much to be learned from such a review. After all, social reality changes far more slowly than reform theories of the '60s tended to suggest. And it is often possible to use data from the past and present in quasi-experimental fashion to approximate the kind of variability in a phenomenon we might expect to produce in a future policy experiment. We can incorporate into such analyses our assumptions about the probable direction of bias in the data and perhaps even estimate the magnitude of the bias. Although these analyses cannot produce the kind of precise estimates or testing of directionality to be expected of a policy experiment, they are a useful and relatively inexpensive first step in the development of a more elaborate research program. They serve the essential function of synthesizing all we can say we know or think we know about a phenomenon and point to the most significant gaps in our knowledge, suggesting the research questions for which the more costly policy experiments may be warranted. In the remaining chapters in Part II, we will present such an analysis.

CHAPTER VII

ASSUMED OUTCOMES: THE EVIDENCE ON ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, STUDENT ATTITUDES, INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIVENESS, AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The case for school decentralization and community control is based on a complex body of intertwined assumptions about the causal processes likely to produce desired changes, the conditions that set these processes in motion, and the feasibility of creating these prior conditions. Comprehensive bibliographic search and analysis of reported research on all these assumptions were beyond the limits of our resources. In order to reduce the task to more manageable proportions and determine the most productive line of inquiry to puruse, we made a cursory search for syntheses of available evidence on each set of assumptions. Based on these syntheses and our familiarity with some of the research relevant to these assumptions, we attempted to map out the dimensions of the problems we could foresee in pursuing further each line of inquiry. We tried to appraise the state of knowledge on each set of assumptions, assessing where comprehensive literature review was and was not likely to contribute to our understanding of the validity of the decentralization/community control rationale.

In this chapter, we will sketch what we learned about each set of assumptions we decided _not_ to pursue further. We will indicate what, if anything, the literature suggested about the validity of these assumptions. Or, where available research was inadequate as a basis for such judgments, we will indicate the dimensions of the problem suggested by the literature.

In subsequent chapters, we will consider the one line of inquiry we decided might be most productive of new insights if pursued in greater depth. We will review in detail the data uncovered in a rather comprehensive review of the literature. We will also consider the questions raised by analysis of these data, the limits of existing evidence for answering these questions, and the implications for research and for policy.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Whatever other goals decentralization and community control were expected to achieve, proponents to these strategies generally believed that in the long run they would produce higher academic achievement levels in low-income minority schools. We have previously considered at great length the causal paths assumed to lead inevitably to this outcome.[1]

High levels of parent participation (and the changed lines of professional accountability inherent in community control) were expected to increase system responsiveness. Translated into concrete terms, such responsiveness meant changes in curriculum and personnel that would create a new school climate. The changes in climate would produce more desirable student attitudes. These in turn would affect students' achievement-related behaviors and ultimately lead to higher achievement levels. One assumed path to increased achievement, then, was through the kind of parent and community participation that brought sufficient pressure on system personnel to force increased system responsiveness.

A second kind of parent participation assumed to affect student achievement was the informational/therapeutic kind that accords with the traditional view of parent participation in school affairs. The expectation here was that increased parent contact with the school would increase parents' understanding of what school personnel were trying to do and how parents could reinforce school learnings at home. Such knowledge would increase parents' trust and confidence in school personnel and thereby improve the school-community climate. This in turn would have a positive effect on student attitudes, and over time these attitudes would affect achievement-related behaviors and ultimately achievement.

A third kind of parent participation, in the form of control of a vital community institution, was expected to change the situational constraints that determined students' sense of control. This student attitude was assumed to significantly influence achievement-oriented striving. Enhancing students' sense of control was expected to lead ultimately to higher achievement levels.

In a persuasive analysis of the evidence, David Cohen and Marshall Smith concluded that there was no support for any of these assumptions about how the decentralization/community control strategy would lead to gains in academic achievement:

> We have been consistently unable to find any empirical support for these three ideas. It is not hard to think of better ways to test them, and easier still to assert that better research would yield more encouraging results. But it strikes us as unlikely. If evidence from the existing system of relationships in education is any indication, neither decentralization nor community control would have much of an impact on any of the measures of academic progress thus far devised. This does not mean that these policies would not produce better schools, happier children, or more contented parents. They well might. It simply means -- as so much other research on education suggests -- that differences among schools' /sic/ doesn't /sic/ have much of an impact on differences among students /sic/ academic performance. If decentralization or community control will affect education, the effect will probably be felt outside the academic realm.[2]

Responsiveness and Achievement

Before rejecting the assumption that increased parental pressures on school personnel could be expected to significantly affect student achievement, Cohen and Smith examined several pieces of evidence.

In an interesting reanalysis of some of the data from the Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey (EEOS),[3] they used measures of teachers' perceptions of parent pressures as proxies for measures of actual parents' participatory behaviors directed toward increasing school responsiveness.[4] This approach is reasonable when we consider two elements in the logic of the argument: first, the intent of such parent behaviors is to make school personnel sensitive to parents' demands; and second, it is assumed in the rationale that the more parent pressure school personnel perceive the more responsive they will become.[5] Cohen and Smith found that school-level measures of teacher-perceived parental pressures were related to school achievement levels, but that the relationship disappeared when school SES was controlled.

They obtained similar results from reanalyses of school-level data on parent participation and academic achievement in New York City and in England. The New York City data, gathered under the auspices of the Center for Urban Education School Legitimacy Study, included measures of parent participation of both the more active pressure-oriented and the more passive information-receiving varieties.[6] The British data were available from the Plowden survey of primary schools and a reanalysis of the Plowden data by Henry Acland of the Harvard University Center for Educational Policy Research.[7] These data included measures of parental participation in the forms of parent contact with the schools and helping their children with schoolwork. Cohen and Smith's use of these data in the context of a discussion about parental pressures to force school responsiveness seems of questionable validity, especially since Acland suggested that British parents generally neither expect accountability from school professionals nor believe it appropriate for them to exert pressure or make demands upon school personnel.[8] Whether these data are more appropriate to testing hypotheses about the relationship between academic achievement and parent participation of the influence/pressure variety or participation of the informational/therapeutic type, however, does not change the results. Parent participation appears to be related to student achievement until the effects of family background are controlled, and then the relationship vanishes.

Cohen and Smith also considered evidence from experimental parent participation efforts in poverty programs. Some of these programs were designed to provide parents a role in program planning and operations, and in most of these cases the generally anecdotal evidence of program evaluations suggested that indeed parent participation had increased. However, there was no evidence that the increased participation had any effect on achievement.[9]

Other elements in the responsiveness argument were also rejected after examination of the evidence. For instance, the decentralization/community control rationale assumed that smaller districts would have more responsive schools and therefore higher achievement. This was assumed to be true because it would be easier for parents to bring pressure to bear in a smaller district and because it would be easier for school personnel to be responsive in a smaller (and presumably less diverse) district even without the prod of parent pressure. However, the EEOS data suggested just the opposite. Not only do smaller districts not have higher achievement levels (if SES and other background variables are controlled), but in fact comparison of districts similar in SES suggests that achievement is slightly higher in larger districts.[10]

The decentralization/community control rationale also assumed achievement levels could be affected by greater school responsiveness in terms of cultural congruence (i.e., more low-income or minority teachers in low-income or minority schools, or personnel with more positive expectations for low-income minority students). Cohen and Smith uncovered little evidence on the relationship between achievement and such cultural congruence, and what little evidence they did find provided no support for the assumed relationship. In the EEOS data, achievement was not higher for black students with black teachers or low-income students with low-income teachers than comparable students with middle-class white teachers. In fact, achievement may be higher in some instances with white middle-class teachers.[11] And although the research by Rosenthal and Jacobson[12] created a flurry of excitement over teacher expectations when their study first appeared in print, it has not withstood the test of time and methodological criticism and it is not at all clear that teacher expectations are significant determinants of academic achievement levels.[13]

Cohen and Smith concluded that the fallacy in the responsiveness argument was the assumption that student achievement is significantly affected by organizational arrangements within schools. If only sufficient pressure could be brought on school personnel, ran the argument, they would institute changes responsive to student needs and such responsiveness would inevitably affect achievement. Yet whether one considers the findings of the Coleman Report or other research consistent with the Coleman findings, differences in school resources (e.g., teachers, curriculum, facilities) or how they are organized (e.g., team teaching, ability grouping, and the like) appear to have little effect on achievement.[14] School output "simply does not seem to respond to variations in organization, resources, or consumer pressure."[15]

Parent Contact and Achievement

Cohen and Smith's review of evidence of the relationship between student achievement and parent participation of what we have described as the informational/therapeutic kind suggests the need to make further distinctions within this category.[16] Their distinction is borne out in analyses of parent programs included in compensatory education efforts.[17]

When parent participation is defined as involvement in school-sponsored parent programs, the effects on student achievement vary depending on the contents of the programs. Children do tend to show cognitive gains when their parents have participated in parent training programs with a cognitive emphasis -- i.e., those that concentrate on teaching parents specific skills relevant to helping their children learn. And where amount of participation was specifically investigated, the more the parents participated, the greater the cognitive gains of their children.[18] Of course here the appropriate interpretation of "more participation" is "more training." This is a rather different phenomenon from the participation-in-decision-making, participation-as-pressure, or even participation-as-information-receiving-and-consultation assumed in the decentralization/community control rationale.

The parent programs more relevant to testing the decentralization/community control rationale are not parent training programs but rather the broad parent participation programs aimed at increasing parent participation in school affairs and/or at changing parents' attitudes, motives, self-concepts, and the like. The evidence on these programs is less encouraging. Even where these programs have increased parent participation or changed parent attitudes in the hypothesized directions, they have not been generally successful in affecting student achievement levels. In those few cases where achievement gains were registered, we have no way of knowing the extent to which parent participation contributed to these gains. These programs tneded to be appendages to compensatory education efforts involving the parents' children. In such programs, the direct effects of classroom instruction were hopelessly confounded with the indirect effects of the parent participation programs.[19] In one program evaluation designed specifically to separate these effects,the data analysis indicated that obtained achievement gains were not attributable to parent participation but rather to other program components.[20]

These discouraging findings on the lack of association between parents' school contacts and student achievement levels are supported further by the results of three separate British studies. We have already considered Acland's reanalysis of the Plowden data and his finding that any apparent relationship between parent contact with schools and student achievement vanished when SES was controlled.[21] In a second British study, a comparison was made of achievement levels over a one-year period in inner-city schools experimenting with a program to increase parent-school contacts and otherwise comparable control schools. No significant differences in achievement were uncovered.[22] In the third study, no significant differences in achievement were found between sample schools judged to have especially good school-parent relations and high parent participation and otherwise comparable schools lacking such notable parent participation and school-parent relations.[23]

There are, however, two other studies reported in the literature with findings to the contrary. In these two carefully controlled investigations, students whose parents took part in programs of planned school contacts showed greater achievement gains than matched students whose parents had no contacts or few contacts with school personnel.[24] However, when one examines the studies themselves rather than reports of the studies in review articles, at least one of these clearly involved participation of the cognitive-instructional variety rather than the noncognitive, attitudinal, broad participation type. It does not, then, run contrary to the general trend in the data, a pattern at variance with the assumptions about parent-school contacts made by proponents of decentralization and community control.

Political Control, Sense of Control, and Achievement

Coleman's findings that a student's sense of control over his environment was a better predictor of achievement for black students than any other factor including SES[25] created a sensation and provided some data-based respectability for the community control argument. The "sense of control" variable (or "locus of control" or sense of "fate control" as it was variously described) is closely related to a number of social-psychological concepts derived from expectancy theory[26] and the powerlessness dimension of alienation and related notions of efficacy that have intrigued sociologists and political scientists at least since the late '50s.[27] The earlier work had suggested that people differed in their expectancies about the extent to which their environments would respond to efforts to control one's fate and therefore their expectancies that striving behavior would be rewarded. Empirical research indicated a relationship between such generalized expectancies and the taking of social action to improve one's lot in life.[28] Studies also suggested that such expectancies might be to a significant degree situationally determined. Therefore, it seemed possible that changes in the objective conditions of people's lives could change these important expectancies and ultimately their achievement-oriented behaviors.[29]

The Coleman findings called attention to these suppositions at the very time that "black power" and "community control" were emerging as the rallying cries of a new activism and militancy directed at changing those situational constraints and their objective and subjective consequences. And while most of the news from the Coleman Report was negative and disappointing to educators, the sense of control findings offered a ray of hope, a point of leverage for having some effect on achievement levels.[30] If there were indeed causal links from the objective political powerlessness of the ghetto to the subjective sense of powerlessness of the parent, from there to the child's lack of fate control and then to his limited striving behavior and finally to his low achievement, then the converse should be equally true. Objective control should lead to subjective control which, in turn, should lead to striving behavior and ultimately to achievement.

Despite the plausibility of the argument, there are a number of logical and empirical problems that community control enthusiasts have ignored. First is the large inferential leap between political conditions and subjective beliefs about one's ability to achieve success in an academic context. Is there any reason to believe that perceptions of political conditions significantly influence one's beliefs about possibilities for personal success, particularly in a school setting? And second is the problem of a directional interpretation of a correctional finding -- i.e., sense of control is assumed to be a cause of achievement when it is just as likely (perhaps even more likely) that sense of control is a consequence of achievement or that both are consequences of some third factor such as family background.

The first of these problems has been explored intensively in the work of Judith Kleinfeld.[31] In one investigation, Kleinfeld used the Coleman items in student interviews and probed what students had in mind when they selected particular responses. In a second study, she administered the Coleman items along with other well-validated attitude scales, factor analyzed the responses, and tested whether the Coleman items were in fact measuring sense of control of one's environment or something quite different. Her analysis demonstrated clearly that what the Coleman items were tapping were attitudes that could more appropriately be labelled self-concept of academic ability rather than sense of control of one's environment. The content of such an attitude is quite different from the concept of self-determination at the crux of the community control argument. Kleinfeld concluded that the highly publicized issue of fate control raised by the Coleman data is "a blind alley;" that the assumptions about the causal relationship between sense of control and achievement are based on "an erroneous conceptualization of beliefs about fate control and on a partly invalid measure;" and that the Coleman fate-control data are "irrelevant to the debate over community control of the schools."[32]

If the Coleman sense of control variable is in reality a narrower belief in one's ability to succeed in an academic setting, it is more difficult to make the case that it should be related to broad political conditions involving community self-determination. It is also less startling to find this variable related to actual achievement levels. Moreover, the association is of such an obvious nature that it makes even more explicit the second logical problem in the argument.

One of the fundamental premises of the community control argument is the causal force of attitudes. Attitudes are assumed to be critical influences on behavior, and institutional, social, and political conditions are assumed to be important determinants of attitudes. Community control advocates argued for changes in school governance in part because they believed they could thereby reshape the situational constraints they assumed determined the attitudes that affected students' striving behaviors. School climate and school-community climate were important, according to this argument, because of the manner in which they shaped students' expectations about the potential payoff of investing substantial effort in schoolwork. If a student believed his environment would reward reasonable effort, then he was more likely to make the effort and ultimately to achieve.

However, these assumptions were based more on faith than on evidence. Lacking are longitudinal data demonstrating that changing such conditions leads to changes in such attitudes; that attitude changes lead to behavioral changes; and that changes in achievement-related behaviors can have a significant effect on overall patterns of achievement differentials among population subgroups. The one well-designed longitudinal experiment addressed to this kind of question produced disappointing results. Brookover and his associates tried to improve students' academic self-concepts through programs that included increasing parent participation in educational affairs. However, neither student self-concepts nor academic achievement levels were significantly affected.[33]

The finding that efficacy, sense of control, and related variables tend to be associated with achievement need not be interpreted in the direction assumed by community control advocates. It seems even more plausible that achievement leads to a belief in one's ability to achieve and an expectation that one's environment is responsive to reasonable effort and likely to reward striving behavior. Existing research provides no basis for resolving the problem one way or the other. Cohen summarized the existing state of knowledge on this question as follows:

> Some studies suggest that the sense of efficacy causes achievement, some suggest that it works the other way around, and others find no association whatsoever. We have no studies of the relationship between parents' political efficacy (or their sense thereof) and their children's test scores; the few studies that relate parents' general sense of environmental control to their children's achievement are inconclusive and contradictory.[34]

And in a later piece, Cohen and Smith related this more directly to the question of whether changing patterns of school governance could be expected to influence achievement levels by increasing students' sense of control:

> Perhaps the chief point to be made in connection with any discussion of fate-control is that there is not a shred of evidence that it is affected by any institution. This is not because research shows that schools have no impact on this attitude, but because no research has ever been done of the subject. All the evidence on fate-control arises from studies of individuals, with no reference whatever to institutional situation. This means that there simply is no way we can assess the impact which schools might have .... There is no evidence that institutions have an impact on this cluster of attitudes, and there is no evidence that it causes achievement or other forms of personal accomplishment.[35]

It would appear, then, that definitive research to resolve this question is lacking. A future policy experiment on community control might well include some longitudinal investigation of the assumed chain from altered conditions to changed attitudes to changed behaviors and finally to achievement. However, it would seem that considerable conceptual and methodological work must be done before such research can be expected to have a significant payoff for policy guidance.

Other Student Attitudes and Achievement

Sense of control was the student attitude given the most attention in the decentralization/community control literature, but the argument that attitudes are critical determinants of achievement was not restricted to this variable alone. Self-concept, self-esteem, interest in school, ethnic pride, and community identity were all described as important emotional supports that influenced students' striving behaviors.[36] In one piece of advocacy writing, the author went so far as to interpret the main import of the Coleman Report as the finding that "the secret to learning lay with student attitudes."[37]

The Coleman Report is the most frequently cited body of evidence to support the importance of the attitude dimension as a causal factor affecting achievement. However, subsequent reanalyses of the Coleman data[38] and the similar findings of the Plowden Report[39] suggest that this relationship has been misinterpreted. It would appear that the direction of the relationship is more likely the reverse -- i.e., that student achievement levels tend to influence student and parent attitudes rather than those attitudes functioning to stimulate achievement. Moreover, in the Plowden data, much of what was discussed under the rubric of "attitudes" should more appropriately be labelled measures of home circumstances. "Parental literacy," for instance, while separable from SES per se, is a reflection of home circumstances and particularly parents' educational attainment. It is not what we usually have in mind when we think of "attitudes." If such "attitudes" are to be described as "causes" of achievement, then the argument simply provides further support for what is in fact the main finding of the Coleman and Plowden Reports -- that family background is by far the most significant determinant of achievement. And if such is the case, then only structural social and economic changes that significantly improve family circumstances can be expected to have a significant impact on achievement.[40] There seems little reason to expect achievement gains to follow from parent participation programs concerned with changing parent attitudes so as to affect student attitudes. Not only is there no evidence that such programs affect student attitudes (the one experimental test of this approach proved unsuccessful[41]), but lacking too is any reason to believe that such student attitudes are causes rather than consequences of achievement.

Another set of attitudes stressed by community control advocates is ethnic pride, community identity, and sense of security. In part, the argument involving these attitudes is used to counter the criticism that the community control movement is detrimental to progress toward school integration and that integration is more likely than community control to succeed in raising minority achievement levels. Community control advocates argue that the young need an emotionally supportive setting to develop the motivation to strive to achieve and that there is a greater sense of security for black students in a segregated ghetto setting than in an integrated environment. Moreover, they contend, a ghettoized environment promotes ethnic solidarity and such solidarity is further enhanced in a community controlled area that is striving toward self-determination. A sense of security, coupled with a feeling of ethnic pride, according to this argument, provides the kind of support needed to stimulate striving toward higher levels of achievement.[42]

To support this argument, community control advocates cited two pieces of evidence. In the first of these, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission study Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,[43] academic achievement of black students was found to be higher in schools that were 90% segregated than those where the ethnic composition of the student body was 50%

black and 50% white. This was interpreted in the community control literature in terms of an assumed greater sense of security felt by black students in a segregated setting compared to the tensions and anxieties of an integrated setting where black students must often compare themselves unfavorably with white middle-class behavior styles and achievement patterns.[44] However, since most black students attend schools in racially isolated settings and have poor achievement nonetheless, this argument would seem rather faulty. Tense integrated settings may have a depressing effect on achievement. There is some evidence to suggest that this may be so.[45] However, there are no data suggesting that ghetto conditions improve black students' achievement.

The second study cited in the community control literature is intended to fill this need. In Greeley and Rossi's study The Education of Catholic Americans,[46] the population investigated was not black students but rather Catholic Americans, especially those who have received their schooling in the ghettoized atmosphere of parochial schools. Greeley and Rossi found that this ghettoized atmosphere was not detrimental to the education of Catholics in parochial schools and might even have promoted achievement. However, despite the attempt in the community control literature to use this study to support these assumptions,[47] the main finding of the Greeley and Rossi research would seem to be that neither this factor nor any other distinguishing element about parochial education made much of a difference. In general, Catholic Americans are quite similar -- whether they attended parochial schools or public schools. This evidence, then, does not actually provide much support for the community control argument At best, it simply suggests that there is no reason to expect achievement to necessarily get worse because of the effects of ghettoization per se.

Cohen and Smith's conclusion about the impact of schools on sense of control holds up equally well applied to these other attitudes.

> There is no evidence that institutions have an impact on this cluster of attitudes, and there is no evidence that it causes achievement or other forms of personal accomplishment.[48]

The evidence reviewed in the syntheses we have considered seems persuasive. Although it is possible that the situational changes wrought by decentralization and community control might lead to improved achievement levels over the long run, existing data provide little basis for optimism. The question should be pursued as an adjunct consideration in a future policy experiment. However, it would seem unwise to make academic achievement the focus of costly future experiments. Too little is known currently about what schools can do to significantly change achievement from the levels one might predict from knowledge of students' family backgrounds alone. More basic research in this area is needed.

The case for the decentralization/community control strategy does not rest solely on its expected effects on academic achievement. Even if the strategy were proven to have no significant influence on achievement levels, its advocates could still argue for it on the basis of all the other outcomes they assumed it would produce. We must, then, consider the available evidence on these other outcomes.

STUDENT ATTITUDES

Among the proponents of decentralization and community control, there is no consensus on the kind of education schools should provide if they could be made to function more effectively. To some, the concern is primarily with academic achievement as traditionally conceived and measured.

But to a large and growing body of reformers, the affective outcomes of schooling are perhaps even more important than the traditional cognitive dimension.

Those concerned with the affective domain point to what they assume to be the psychological consequences for minority students of attending schools dominated by white values. Schools, they argue, transmit not only information and skills but also norms, values, and perceptions of one's competencies and worth. Schools shape students' views of themselves and thereby determine the boundaries of students' aspirations and expectations for the future. The schools function as acculturation tools, and for minority students in white-dominated schools the results are destructive. Students learn a white view of the world and adopt the negative view of themselves communicated by white professionals. As a result, the minority student is "miseducated by a system that represents everybody's interests but his."[49] The consequences for the minority student are lack of black (or other group) identity and pride, low self-esteem, low aspirations, and minimal expectations for one's future.

These reformers generally assume that positive attitudes will have positive effects on academic achievement.[50] But whether or not this is true, they view affective development as an important outcome on which schools should focus if they are to produce happy healthy children. This involves developing educational strategies that are rather different from the narrowly cognitive approaches that characterize most school programs. The nature of such strategies is suggested in the following passage:

> ... the competence of the child, which it is the school's responsibility to foster, must be broadly conceived in terms of ego strength, that is, the effective interaction of the individual with the work, the people, and the problems of his environment. This calls on the school ...

> to support simultaneously the growth of the cognitive functions ... and the personality process related to feelings of self-worth and realization, potential for relating to people, autonomy and creativity, the capacity for emotional investment, and the building of a separate identity.[51]

Proponents of decentralization and community control assume that these strategies will have a positive effect on student attitudes as a result of improvements in school climate and school-community climate. School climate is expected to improve as a result of changes in school functioning undertaken to increase school responsiveness. Personnel and curriculum changes, it is believed, will decrease the debilitating effects of racism and restructure the school atmosphere in a manner that produces healthier student self-concepts and motivates students to try to achieve. The presence of minority-group teachers and administrators, for instance, is expected to bring greater sensitivity to the emotional needs and learning styles of minority children and to provide positive role models needed for the development of healthy self-concepts and high aspirations and expectations. School-community climate is expected to improve as a by-product of increased parent participation, restored school legitimacy, and more supportive parent attitudes toward school personnel.

There appears, however, to be no evidence to support these assumptions. The difficulties noted previously with regard to Coleman's sense of control variable apply equally well to the assumptions about other student attitudes, their causes and consequences. There are serious problems with the way several of these attitudinal variables have been conceptualized. Empirical evidence on the distribution of these attitudes does not support many of the suppositions of the reformers. There is no evidence to buttress the assumption that institutional settings can significantly affect attitudes. And there seems good reason to question the interpretation that attitudes are causes rather than consequences of the behaviors and life circumstances with which they tend to be associated.

Student Attitudes and Responsiveness

One of the problems with the argument that personnel and curriculum changes are needed to aid in the development of healthier student attitudes is the assumption that minority students have low self-esteem, low aspirations, and the like. However, research on aspirations and academic self-concept generally finds higher aspirations and academic self-concepts reported by black students than by whites.[52] It is unclear whether this reflects the weaknesses of the measures generally used to tap these attitudes, or distortions in students' perceptions, or a lack of relationship between situational constraints and attitudes of this kind. What the attitude literature does suggest is that it is extremely risky in this hazy area to engage in attributions of causality or suppositions about the ease with which attitudes can be changed.[53]

Moreover, available evidence runs contrary to the assumption that schools can significantly change students' attitudes or values. Attitudes and values appear to be formed early in life, influenced primarily by home factors, and relatively stable after the elementary school years.[54] Some attitudes are more susceptible to change than others, and broad social movements such as black pride, antiwar agitation, women's liberation, and the like have wrought major attitudinal reversals later in life. However, there is no evidence to suggest that institutions such as schools are able to produce significant attitude changes. Whatever effects schools have on attitudes appear to be uniform, regardless of differences in institutional settings. Community control advocates are fond of pointing to the Greeley and Rossi study of Catholic Americans to suggest that the ghettoized atmosphere of parochial schools is not detrimental to achievement.[55] However, as we have already noted, they ignore the most serious implication of Greeley and Rossi's work for the whole question of the institutional determinants of attitudes. The most astonishing finding of their study was how little difference there was in the attitudes and values of Catholic Americans whether they had attended parochial schools or public schools, despite the fact that parochial schools are organized and run primarily for the purpose of shaping attitudes and values.[56] If such institutions have no differential effect on attitudes and values of Catholic Americans, what reason is there to believe that any greater impact is to be expected from community controlled schools concerned with instilling a less clear-cut body of attitudes and values?

Cohen and Smith concluded their review of the attitude literature as follows:

> ... we have been unable to turn up any evidence which suggests that schools have much of a differential effect on the attitudes or values of students ... everything we have been able to turn up suggests that schools affect students' attitudes and values in roughly the same way as they affect their students' achievement. Their impact is quite uniform, and in comparison with background factors, quite modest.[57]

Student Attitudes and Parent Attitudes

If the evidence suggests that schools are unlikely to have a strong differential impact on student attitudes, then the critical influence on such attitudes must be nonschool factors such as family background. The decentralization/community control strategy assumed that it was possible to affect student attitudes indirectly through increased parent participation, its positive effects on parent attitudes, and the transmission of these more positive attitudes to students. However, there is no evidence to support the assumption that parent participation in school affairs can have any impact at all on such student attitudes as academic self-concept, sense of control, self-esteem, or achievement motivation. (And besides, student aspirations and the like are not a problem -- the expressed aspirations of black students tend to be higher than those of whites.)

If the attitudes in question are instead a sense that the school is an alien institution, that school personnel do not care about minority students, are not to be trusted, and the like, it would seem plausible to accept the decentralization/community control argument. Increased parent participation might (under favorable conditions) reverse these attitudes, and these more positive attitudes might indeed be conveyed to students whose attitudes and behavior might be expected to change accordingly. This is one of the critical elements in the notion that community control will produce a new, healthier, more exciting, and less hostile school climate. That this indeed occurred in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville and I.S. 201 demonstration districts in New York City is suggested in anecdotal evidence on these projects.[58] However, we have no way of knowing from these accounts precisely what this new climate involved or the extent to which various elements in this new climate were attributable to parents' attitude changes.

But even if we were to assume that student attitudes could be so affected and that the result of increased parent participation would be student attitudes more positively oriented toward schools, this kind of attitude change is hardly as consequential as the affective development of interest to reformers concerned with the noncognitive outcomes of schooling. Liking school (or at least not hating teachers) has limited impact on personal development compared to the assumed effects of self-esteem, self-concept, sense of control, and the like. And there is no evidence to support the assumption that these latter attitudes can be significantly affected by either parent participation and its assumed effects on parent attitudes *or* increased school responsiveness and its expected effects on school climate.

This too might be investigated as an adjunct consideration in some future policy experiment. But here, as in the investigation of academic achievement, it would seem unwise to invest extensive energies in this line of inquiry. There is little in the available evidence to suggest that the policy inputs that define the decentralization/community control strategy will have the hypothesized impact on students' affective development.

INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIVENESS

Regardless of the ultimate effects on students' academic achievement or affective development, a strong case could be made for decentralization and community control if it could be proven that they would increase institutional responsiveness. At a point in time when a number of major American institutions have come under attack as unresponsive to the needs and desires of those they are supposed to serve, questions of responsiveness -- and the public's assessment of such responsiveness -- become matters of pressing importance. Adherents of these strategies have argued that the changes they favor will increase school system responsiveness. However, before their claims can be weighed against evidence, such fuzzy terms as responsiveness must be operationalized. And any attempt to define responsiveness in concrete operational terms forces the researcher to deal with several difficult conceptual, normative, and methodological problems that are glossed over or ignored in the literature.

Responsiveness to What and to Whom?

Responsiveness is a relational and evaluative concept. It implies that a response is made to some stimulus, and it involves a judgment of the adequacy of the response. Therefore, one can neither think clearly about responsiveness nor measure it without some definite preconceptions about which stimuli in an institution's environment require responses and what kinds of responses should be made. And such preconceptions are certain to reveal the normative biases of the researcher.

We can distinguish at least two kinds of stimuli that might require responses from school system officials. On the one hand, there are unarticulated student needs that are real, that are perceived by system officials as representing serious problems in need of solution, but that have no vocal constituency pressing for them. On the other hand, there are articulated demands -- needs (real or imagined) that have the backing of a constituency and are pressed on officials in forms calling for response.

Certainly officials might try to both anticipate needs and deal with demands. But what if their professional judgments of a need run counter to what parents or community leaders express as a demand? Which system is more "responsive" -- one in which system professionals acquiesce in parents' demands to ban books that graphically describe street life and use street language, or one that resists such demands on the grounds that its students perceive the relevance of such books and are becoming for the first time enthusiastic readers? Responsiveness to parental demands might in such a case be an obstacle to responsiveness to students' needs.

If a school system appears to do nothing that is responsive to either needs or demands, the problem is of minimal import. Or if one is undertaking a small-scale case study of one system, the researcher need not make any choices: he can simply describe the nature of the system's responsiveness. But if one is conducting a large-scale policy experiment, the problem of quantification or even simple ranking must arise.

Any measurement system that is devised will tend to reveal whether the researcher's primary interest in responsiveness involves making system's respond more to his conception of the way a school system should be functioning or a constituency's conception (e.g., parents or community leaders). When Marilyn Gittell and her associates investigated responsiveness, they defined certain needs of large-city school systems, specified kinds of responses to these needs, and then tried to determine the extent to which the school systems and districts studied were making these responses.[59] They studied responsiveness in terms of their conception of student needs rather than analyzing demands made on the system and the adequacy of system responses to these demands.

This is a vital point. One of the criticisms made of reformers is that they tend to favor participatory reforms so long as the demands made by participating citizens are consistent with the reformers' own policy preferences; however, reformers often ignore the possibility that the policy preferences of the mass public they wish to empower may well be less liberal than their own.[60] The literature on parent attitudes toward educational policies suggests that most parents are unenthusiastic about curriculum innovations; that the more a school program diverges from traditional subject matter and traditional teaching approac[illegible]he more unhappy parents tend to be; and that this traditional orienta[illegible]s especially pronounced in lower SES communities.[61] These findings in the educational domain are consistent with numerous studies that document the illiberal political orientations of mass publics and the danger that high levels of mass participation can lead to defeat of the liberal policies preferred by reformers.[62] Although some of the strongest proponents of citizen participation express great faith in the decisionmaking abilities of the citizenry -- or are unconcerned about particular policy outcomes and argue that citizens have the right to make their own mistakes[63] -- this focus on process and lesser concern about policy outcomes is not the general rule. Reformers do tend to have certain policy outcomes in mind which they have defined as meeting the needs of a given situation. This presents serious problems for defining the kind of responsiveness to be sought in a decentralization or community control experiment -- responsiveness to what reformers define as needs or what parents or community spokesmen articulate as demands. And too, it poses difficulties for the researcher in determining what to measure in evaluating an experiment's responsiveness.

The problem of distinguishing between responsiveness to needs specified by reformers or demands articulated by the system's constituency is only one level of the difficulty inherent in responsiveness as a relational and evaluative concept. Institutions in complex settings tend to be faced with numerous, diverse, and often conflicting needs and demands. There will be bright students, average students, and slow students; those who need special assistance in reading; those who are gifted in art or music; and the like. There may be students of diverse ethnic, racial, and economic backgrounds. And each group of students will have a parent constituency; some constituencies will be more active and demanding than others. Labelling an institution "responsive" or "unresponsive" involves an evaluative judgment of which particular needs or demands its personnel should be responding to. In a small-scale case study, one can differentiate the groups toward which system officials are and are not responsive and perhaps even indicate degrees of responsiveness. But how does one handle the measurement problem in a large-scale policy experiment? The problem is by no means impossible to handle. But until such problems are satisfactorily resolved, there seems little to be gained by making responsiveness the focal concern of a policy experiment.

Responsive How? Substantive vs. Procedural Responses

Officials confronted with a need or demand may respond in either of two ways: they may take substantive action affecting the content of a policy or program, or they may make a procedural response affecting the policy process. In the first case, officials are concerning themselves with the specifics of a particular problem of system functioning and some influence has been exerted on the system's policy outputs. A demand for more bilingual teachers, for instance, may be met by altering recruitment and hiring policies and perhaps also by the actual hiring of more bilingual teachers. If system officials had chosen instead to make a procedural response to this demand, they might have created a school-community committee to discuss the need for more bilingual teachers, or to explore means of altering recruitment policies, or to consider school problems in general. Procedural responses of this kind may alter the policy process, or may merely be delaying or demand-defusing tactics that give only the appearance of altering the policy process. But they do not necessarily imply any change at all in the number of bilingual teachers on the school staff: they involve no substantive response to the demand. System officials may succeed, though, in relieving the system stress created by the demand and its vocal adherents; they may coopt, isolate, or crush the opposition; they may generate increased support for themselves by granting access to an opposition group; and these changes may even affect the policy process and, in the long run, policy outcomes. But at the same time, procedural responses may enable school officials to resist demands and avoid taking actions desired by vocal groups while providing a facade of democratic procedures and responsive actions.

Much of the criticism by reform-oriented analysts has involved implicitly this distinction between substantive and procedural responsiveness. Raffel, in his review of developments in political science in the past decade, criticized the field as focusing too much on the process of policy formation and not enough on the content of policies or their effects.[64] And Judith May, in her review of the citizen participation literature, contended that political scientists have mistakenly assumed our political system works well because they have been concerned primarily with the democratic appearance of the process rather than the skewed distribution of benefits produced by that process.[65] The implication of these analyses is clear. The decision to focus on either substantive or procedural responsiveness suggests normative biases that may mislead a researcher who does not take them into account.

Investigations of substantive and procedural responsiveness require different procedures and different evaluative criteria for judging response "adequacy." Much greater theoretical clarity will be needed before research on either substantive or procedural responsiveness can be expected to be of much use for guiding policy development.

Available Evidence

Decentralization and community control are expected to increase school system responsiveness by altering two sets of conditions assumed to be directly related to responsiveness. First are a number of conditions believed to affect the *ability* of personnel to respond adequately to needs and demands: size of a school district, degree of bureaucratization, and the kinds of parent/community participation that sensitize professionals to needs and demands (e.g., presence on the staff of community residents serving as paraprofessionals or school aides, or more parent/community contact with school personnel). Second are conditions that place *pressure* on school personnel to be responsive: e.g., a climate that encourages active parent/community input into the policy process, a shift in the locus of decisionmaking power to the local community, and a change in the lines of professional accountability and the kinds of concerns likely to affect personnel policies.

The social sciences and applied fields provide little evidence to test these assumptions. And what little evidence is available seems particularly inadequate in light of the conceptual, normative, and methodological problems we have already considered.

Educational researchers have operationalized responsiveness in terms of adaptability and innovation. A system is judged responsive if it implements innovations directed at meeting needs identified by the researchers.[66] There has been little work done on responsiveness to demands[67] or responsiveness of the procedural rather than substantive variety.[68]

The existing evidence on the size-innovation relationship suggests that smaller districts are more innovative.[69] However, school district size tends to be so confounded with other community background characteristics that we cannot be certain that it is size per se that accounts for this adaptability. In one study that examined the relationship between size and measures that we would contend tap procedural responsiveness, size had no significant effect.[70]

Even less can be said conclusively about bureaucracy and its effects on responsiveness. In their analysis of the literature on bureaucracy and its relationship to size, Cohen and Smith uncovered conceptual and measurement problems, contradictory findings, and little of use for policy guidance.[71]

Gittell and Hollander investigated school system responsiveness (i.e., level of innovations) and found it to be unrelated to bureaucracy, at least as they measured these variables. One factor that was found to be associated with responsiveness was amount of community participation (defined as the amount of influence on the policy process exercised by groups outside the educational establishment).[72] However, given the methodological limitations of this exploratory study,[73] there would seem to be a need for further confirmation of this relationship between participation and responsiveness.

We have located no other studies of this question in the educational literature, but there is a significant body of work on institutional responsiveness in the social action evaluations of the '60s. The poverty ideology assumed that participation of the poor would increase institutional responsiveness. Political organizaing activities were expected to mobilize the poor to bring sufficient pressure on government and agency officials to force policy and program changes. Participation of the poor on policy boards was expected to provide them with positions of substantive power to define their own interests and to change agency policies to accord with their own definitions of their interests. And employment of the poor as paraprofessionals inside existing institutional structures was expected to sensitize agency professionals to the needs of the poor and to the patterns of service delivery more responsive to their life styles. The political organizing approach assumed institutional change could be stimulated by conflict, i.e., by pressure from outside. The policy-board approach assumed change would follow from the power inherent in formal policy positions. The employment apporach assumed that institutional change could be brought about subtly from the inside of an organization -- by bringing in new personnel and through them affecting the attitudes and practices of other personnel already at work in the organization.

Findings on the effectiveness of these participatory strategies for increasing the responsiveness of social welfare institutions are directly relevant to our interest in school system responsiveness. The political organizing strategy is analogous to the assumption in the decentralization/community control rationale that active parent and community participation would materialize from these strategies and put pressure on school personnel to be responsive to community inputs. Participation of the poor on policy boards is analogous to participation of the poor on the governing boards of community controlled school districts. And the case for employment of the poor as paraprofessionals in social welfare agencies is precisely the same as the case for their employment in schools.

Unfortunately the evidence is not encouraging. Evaluations of community action agencies (CAAs) suggest that none of these approaches was successful in bringing about major reorientations of agency policies or programs. Despite all the publicity given the political organizing activities of some CAAs, these agencies were rarely able to muster sufficient political power to affect social policies. For the most part, political organizing efforts failed to mobilize the poor into political constituencies. In almost all cities, local power structures were able to absorb the CAAs without any significant redistribution of power. In most communities, these organizations were used for traditional social service delivery rather than for social action or community development.[74] Some analyses contend that conflict led to greater power being granted to the poor in the CAAs and Model Cities organizations,[75] but most indicate that conflict had more destructive effects. Clark and Hopkins, for instance, found that conflict failed to stimulate social change in any of the twelve cities whose poverty programs their researchers studied. The main effect of conflict, according to their account, was to stimulate countervailing power that led to programs being redirected away from social action and toward less controversial traditional social service approaches.[76]

Participation of the poor on planning and policy boards was rarely more successful as a force for institutional change. Researchers contend that power of the poor was more illusory than real. Their participation tended to be controlled by leaders who were themselves not poor. Such participation often took the form of expressive participation by the poor and "condescending indulgence" by the nonpoor. There is even some evidence that where participatory democracy was emphasized, the CAAs were least effective in bringing about needed changes.[77] Overall, evaluators detected little observable change in the policy orientations of these agencies -- or even the specifics of program content -- as a result of participation of the poor.[78] Much the same has been found in evaluations of participation of the poor on the policy boards of Head Start programs operated under the sponsorship of school systems.[79]

The employment approach appears to have had some success in sensitizing agency professionals to client needs and styles. It did result in a modest degree of increased responsiveness in professionals' attitudes and behaviors and, therefore, in some agency practices. In all, then, participation of the poor would seem to have been more effective in changing individuals than in changing institutions.[80]

But even if the employment approach had some modest degree of success, it is the approach least relevant to testing the assumptions of the decentralization/community control rationale. Employment of community residents as paraprofessionals or aides has become a widespread practice in poverty areas and exists independent of either decentralization or community control. The two pressure-oriented participatory approaches are directly relevant to the strategies that concern us, and the evidence from CAA evaluations suggests that they had minimal impact. The CAAs were neither able to mobilize grassroots constituencies nor to use whatever power was implicit in participation on policy boards to redirect agency policies.

Is the CAA experience a valid test of pressure- and power-oriented approaches to institutional change? Advocates of participatory reforms reject the CAA test of their assumptions on the grounds that political control diverted the CAAs from grassroots action strategies that would stimulate social change, prevented them from functioning effectively, financially starved them into insignificance, and diverted their energies away from action-organizing-power goals. Instead, political forces redirected the programs toward the noncontroversial traditional approaches bound to stimulate minimal change. If the CAAs failed to produce significant change, it is because they tended to use old approaches. Ergo, one cannot consider the community action experience a valid test of participatory strategies.[81]

Perhaps. As experimental settings in which to test participation assumptions, the CAAs were certainly less than perfect. But many of the CAAs did operate under conditions conducive to mobilizing grassroots participation: they were conducive in structure, in legitimating norms and values, and in resources devoted to organizing purposes. And still they failed to spark much grassroots interest.

Is that because the CAAs had so little to offer the poor? When the poor responded to the CAAs at all, it was largely to the job opportunities or services they offered.[82] But the CAAs never had command of a sufficient supply of jobs to bind community residents -- machine-fashion -- to their organizations. And the social service approach proved inadequate for building a constituency. Although political machines had built up their constituencies partly through services, the services they provided were primarily in the form of favors that required political pull -- a pull that the CAAs were never able to muster. But even if this argument is valid, what concrete opportunities are offered in the school setting? Are abstract issues about making schools more responsive going to mobilize grassroots parents to greater activism? A particular grievance related to one child may sustain a spurt of activism for a while, but is it enough to build an active pressure-producing constituency -- especially if the issues on which the CAAs tried to build their organizing efforts were not sufficient to the task?

What little evidence is available to assess assumptions about increasing responsiveness is not encouraging, but then neither is it definitive. The issue is too important to be treated as a closed matter. Additional research is needed, and means should be developed -- and tested -- so that we may learn more about how to increase the responsiveness of school systems and other institutions. However, some attention will have to be devoted to the serious conceptual, normative, and methodological problems that plague this area of investigation before researchers can develop the kind of cumulative data base needed to guide policy. For the present, the only conclusion we can reach is that we are rather far from understanding how to increase institutional responsiveness. A considerable amount of theoretical and empirical work will be needed in this area before we will be able to assess the viability of decentralization, community control, or any other strategy for affecting school system responsiveness.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community control was expected to stimulate community development by a number of ill-defined means: by promoting ethnic solidarity, group consciousness, and community identity; by affecting residents' sense of efficacy and "organizability;" by providing the resources and institutional structures needed to develop a skilled leadership cadre; and by providing the nucleus for a community power base to secure redistributive goals with regard to jobs, power, and status.

The changes envisioned in these objectives involved macro-level community transformations that are difficult to measure given the current state of work in the study of social change or the even less well-defined areas of community development and community organizing.

Surprisingly little investigation of community development questions accompanied the community action activities of the poverty program. Some inconclusive research was conducted on the question of whether or not participation on policy boards of poverty programs increased the sense of efficacy of members.[83] Some of the evaluations of the CAAs suggested that they may have had some positive effects on long-run community development potential. (For instance, the CAAs are credited with legitimating and institutionalizing the notion of participation of the poor; with developing new organizations and organizational forms, and new concepts such as that of the paraprofessional employee. And most important, the CAAs are credited with recruiting and training a new minority-group elite and providing them with the skills needed for more effective participation in the political process.[84] Some consideration has been given also to the question of whether conflict-oriented community action has on balance stimulated or retarded the accomplishment of community objectives.[85] However, the CAA experience has provided little systematic evidence of how such enterprises affect community processes and ultimately community development. Nor has it produced much insight into the meaning of "community development" when the term is applied to inner-city neighborhoods.

Given the rather limited base of theoretical and empirical knowledge on the community development objectives of community control, there would seem to be little potential payoff in pursuing this subject more extensively here. The questions involved are of substantial importance and should not be slighted. But what is called for is expansion of basic research in this area in the disciplines and applied fields. Consideration of these matters in a policy experiment would seem at this time to be premature.

* * * * *

If the case for school system decentralization and community control rested solely on claims about the positive effects these strategies will have on academic achievement, student attitudes, school responsiveness, and community development, we would have to conclude at this point that the case is based more on faith than on available evidence from the social sciences and applied fields. However, there is another set of claims made for these strategies and a considerable body of evidence suggesting that they may indeed be valid. These claims concern the assumed effects of these strategies on parental satisfaction with the schools. It is argued that the schools are suffering a serious legitimacy crisis; that parental confidence in school system officials is needed to relieve stresses on system functioning that drain energies from essential tasks; and that, in a democratic society, operating institutions in a manner clients find satisfying is an important goal in itself. It is contended that participatory reforms of the kind inherent in decentralization and community control are likely to restore confidence and increase parental satisfaction with the schools.

Are the schools suffering from a serious erosion of system support? What factors affect parental satisfaction with schools? How much of an effect on parental satisfaction can we reasonably expect from participatory reforms? In subsequent chapters, we examine the evidence on these questions.

CHAPTER VIII

ASSUMED OUTCOMES: THE EVIDENCE ON SATISFACTION

Decentralization and community control were intended to reshape schools into institutions its parent-clients would find more satisfying. This was by no means the only concern of the strategy's proponents, or even their primary concern. But given the tense community climate surrounding many schools, and its troublesome political and educational consequences, concern with parental satisfaction was never a matter of small significance. And such central concerns as improving academic achievement or student attitudes or school system responsiveness might be understood in terms of parent satisfaction, i.e., as areas of school functioning that profoundly affected parents' evaluations of the schools their children attended.

The analogical argument[1] underlying the decentralization/community control rationale made a number of assumptions about parental satisfaction with the schools, its distribution, and determinants. The argument can be separated into four component parts: first, that parents in white communities (especially small white suburbs) are generally satisfied with their schools; second, that parents in inner-city communities are generally dissatisfied; third, that white communities and inner-city communities differ in a number of critical conditions that account for parental satisfaction with the schools; and finally, that if these critical conditions in white communities were replicated in inner-city areas, parental satisfaction with inner-city schools would increase accordingly.

If any of these component pieces were proven invalid, the analogical argument would crumble, and with it the case for the decentralization/

community control strategy. Depending on one's selection from available evidence, it would be possible to make a case either for or against each one of these four propositions. We must, then, weigh the available evidence carefully and try to arrive at a balanced assessment. This effort will occupy our attention in the next three chapters.

GENERAL DISAFFECTION -- A CHALLENGE TO THE ANALOGICAL ARGUMENT?

The tumultuous eruption of the decentralization/community control controversy was not the only cause of concern among educators in the late 1960's. Dissatisfaction with schools in ghetto neighborhoods appeared to many to be only the most visible and vocal tip of an iceberg of general public concern. Media reports suggested that public disaffection from the schools had reached such an acute level that the schools were suffering a "crisis of confidence." The impression to be derived from these alarums was that increasing numbers of parents and community leaders had lost confidence in the ability of school system officials to improve academic achievement levels, or to provide the kind or quality of education they wanted for their children. Educational leaders expressed fears that the result might be wholesale flight from the public schools, especially if alternatives became more readily available.[1a]

To make a case for the existence of this critical level of public disaffection -- and therefore the need to undertake reforms oriented toward restoring confidence -- those who believed in the existence of this crisis[2] pointed to a number of indicators. First and foremost was the growing trend of voter defeats of school financial requests. In increasing numbers of school districts, voters in the late 1960's were defeating requests for increased school taxes and new bond issues. This was happening even in localities where school financial referenda had been approved in the past with little difficulty, and even where the outcome was certain to be austerity budgets, cutbacks in popular programs, and school closings.[3]

Second was the proliferation of experimentation with alternatives to the conventional modes of public education -- storefront schools,[4] "free" schools,[5] performance contracting,[6] and the tuition voucher scheme.[7] And along with the increased availability of such alternatives was the upsurge of interest in alternatives that developed in response to the writings of educational reformers,[8] the conferences held to launch, solidify, and expand various "alternatives" movements,[9] and the publicity given these alternatives in the public press[10] and in the annual conventions of various associations of professional educators.[11]

Additional danger signs appeared to be the increasing pressures on private school enrollments as applications multiplied,[12] and the steadfastness with which parochial school parents clung to their nonpublic schools as long as means could be found to keep them open -- even if those means included increased tuition payments for alread hard-pressed blue-collar budgets.[13]

Closer examination of these and other indicators, however, suggests that they provide neither conclusive nor clearcut evidence of widespread or critical levels of disaffection. One must be particularly cautious in interpreting the results of school financial elections and survey data on willingness to support public education with increased taxes. Degree of support for public education may play only a minor role in voter behavior and opinions on school financial questions. In 1967, when educators began to express increased concern over school bond defeats, school bond issues had a better record of voter approval than other kinds of municipal bonds.[14] The defeat of school financial referenda may reflect little more than a general taxpayers' revolt against an increasingly burdensome tax load, intensified by the pressures of inflation and economic slowdown. If voting behavior in school financial elections were a valid indicator of satisfaction with the schools, one would expect to find highly dissatisfied groups of citizens voting more heavily than satisfied groups against school financial requests. However, research on black-white differences in both voting behavior and opinions toward the schools indicates that blacks tend to be more dissatisfied with the schools in their communities[15] but still tend to be far more supportive of the schools in financial elections.[16] And there is even some evidence that, all other things being equal, voters are more likely to vote for tax increases to improve the schools if they are dissatisfied with school performance than if they are satisfied.[17]

If the data on school financial elections provide no clearcut clues about public disaffection, what of the public's increased interest in alternatives to conventional modes of public education? Respondents to a 1969 Gallup poll expressed strong support for nonpublic education. When asked to consider the kinds of schools they would want to establish in some hypothetical new community, 23% of a national sample indicated that they wanted only a public school system; 72% preferred the availability of both public and nonpublic systems. In this same context of alternatives, 45% rated public schools lower in quality than private or parochial schools. In addition, 38% favored public subsidies to enable children to attend nonpublic schools. Most devasting in its implications, 59% stated that they would send their children to private or parochial schools if tuition were free.[18] In a 1970 Gallup poll, 43% expressed support for the voucher scheme.[19] Other surveys that have inquired about parental preferences without suggesting that tuition would be free have found fewer parents expressing interest, but sizeable proportions nonetheless (32% in a Boston survey;[20] 36% in a New York City survey[21]).

One cannot infer from these responses that parents would necessarily act on these feelings to seek out alternative forms of schooling. Hypothetical questions tend to tap latent feelings that may be real but not necessarily highly predictive of behavior patterns. The enormous socialization and social change literature documents the force of inertia in people's learned responses to their institutions. Most of the genuine enthusiasm over alternatives tends to be concentrated among professional educators, reformers, and well-educated parents who have tended to have more options than the general public in choosing schooling for their children. Schemes like the tuition voucher proposals could conceivably make alternatives available on a broad scale and at the same time legitimate and promote the concept of consumer choice in the sphere of schooling. However, given the strong opposition that has developed to voucher proposals, and the difficulties its proponents have faced in getting communities to experiment with it, the likelihood of its potential ever being fully realized seems remote.

At any rate, it is by no means clear that there is significant disaffection from the public schools, regardless of how parents respond to queries about hypothetical alternatives. Public opinion surveys fairly consistently reveal overwhelming parental satisfaction with the public schools. When people are asked how good a job the schools are doing, or how satisfied they are with the quality of the local schools or its teachers or principals, negative ratings are rarely given by more than 10%

to 20% of any sample.[22] When questions require general judgments of the quality of school programs or textbooks, or attempt to tap satisfaction with school buildings or class size, the result is generally the same limited proportion of negative responses.[23]

Public opinion data have some limitations that must always be taken into account. Most serious are biases introduced by the nature of one's sample and the wording of specific items. However, whether one considers studies using samples drawn from the nation as a whole,[24] from city cross-sections,[25] or from areas defined as inner-city,[26] middle-city,[27] or suburban,[28] the pattern is not usually dramatically different. And whether the sample is drawn from a population defined as adult residents,[29] registered voters,[30] parents of school-age children,[31] or only public school parents,[32] the general picture is the same although degrees of expressed satisfaction vary within a moderate range: parents tend to express more positive opinions about the schools than nonparents; public school parents with school-age children tend to be more positive about the schools than nonparents or parents whose children are not presently attending school; public school parents tend to be more positive than parents with children in private or parochial schools.[33]

When questions have a focus more specific than general level of satisfaction, the response patterns remain favorable to the schools but less overwhelmingly so. While only 10% to 20% of a sample might rate "the job" being done by the schools as poor or indicate that they are generally dissatisfied, a higher proportion is likely to agree with the statement that the school is not doing a good job in this or that -- e.g., in preparing students for college or for future work.[34] And more satisfaction is expressed about the quality of the local schools when the question is asked in isolation than when the respondent is asked to compare the local schools with schools in other areas or with schools in the same community some time in the past.[35] However, overall what one must conclude from these data is that -- to paraphrase Mark Twain's famous quip -- media accounts suggesting the coming demise of public education have been "greatly exaggerated."

Most of the reported research on public attitudes toward the schools fails to present separate analyses for racial, ethnic, or socioeconomic subgroups, or for respondents living in different types of communities (e.g., rural, suburban, or urban). Those studies that do present such separate comparative analyses reveal some differential patterns which tend to support at least the first two components of the analogical argument: the kinds of people who live in suburbs (i.e., predominantly the white middle class) are generally satisfied with the schools their children attend, and the kinds of people who live in inner-city communities (i.e., low-income minority groups) tend to be less satisfied.[36] Whether this differential distribution of satisfaction is to be attributed to the factors assumed by proponents of decentralization and community control is another matter that we shall take up later in our analysis.[37] However, for the present we can say that part one of the analogical argument would seem to have weathered the challenge of evidence cited to suggest that disaffection with the schools characterizes white as well as nonwhite communities. White parents appear to be generally satisfied with the schools their children attend.

BLACK DISAFFECTION

The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders characterized black attitudes toward the schools in terms of hostility and described the failure of the schools as "one of the persistent sources of grievance and resentment within the Negro community."[38] Public opinion data, however, suggest that this may be an overstatement. In two studies of inner-city residents, the schools fared better in residents' evaluations than such other services as police protection and park facilities.[39] According to one of these studies -- performed under contract to the same Commission on Civil Disorders cited above -- the schools were "one of the least frequently complained-about services" and "the service which evoked the least difference in the evaluations of Negroes and white respondents."[40] Still, when surveys ask inner-city residents about serious community problems, schools are generally mentioned by as many as a third of the respondents, even if their responses indicate that they consider crime, housing, and/or employment opportunities as more pressing problems.[41]

Comparison of data for separate racial or ethnic subsamples consistently uncovers greater dissatisfaction with the schools expressed by blacks. Whereas negative ratings of the schools are rarely given by more than 10% or at most 20% of white respondents, the comparable figures for black respondents tend to fall in the range of 36% - 57%, with one study reporting an unusually high 66.6% rating the neighborhood schools as poor.[42]

Questions about major structural changes in school system governance also reveal significant differences in orientations of blacks when compared to all other racial and ethnic groups. Black respondents are far more likely to believe that parents should play a role in school system decisionmaking (for instance, in decisions about personnel, curriculum, and the like). Significantly greater numbers of blacks tend to agree with the statement that the community should have greater influence in school affairs. And blacks appear to be more likely to interpret greater parental involvement to mean roles in school decisions, while others tend to interpret this more in terms of helping their children with their homework or having more contact with school personnel.[43]

It would seem, then, that the evidence generally supports part two of the analogical argument -- residents of inner-city communities are more dissatisfied with the schools than residents of most other kinds of communities. And there is suggestive evidence that black parents' desires for greater influence in school decisionmaking are linked to a belief that the result will be better schools: one study reported that black parents think white schools are better partly because of the greater parental influence blacks think whites have over school functioning.[44] The implication of this finding would seem to be that whether in fact the remainder of the analogical argument is correct, many black parents believe it to be a valid description of why white schools produce higher achievement and greater parental satisfaction. And, it would appear, many black parents also think that it suggests the kinds of reforms needed to replicate these desirable outcomes in black schools.

But if the remainder of the analogical argument is in fact correct, we must determine what actually accounts for differential levels of parent satisfaction with the schools. We must demonstrate that suburban and inner-city (or white and nonwhite) communities differ significantly on these factors. And we must prove that replicating these conditions in inner-city areas can actually produce schools that parents find more satisfying. We turn now to a consideration of these matters.

FACTORS THAT ACCOUNT FOR PARENT SATISFACTION WITH THE SCHOOLS

The literature presents five factors assumed to account for parent satisfaction with the schools: congruence between parents' perceptions of school functioning and their preferences; academic achievement; constrained choice; parents' own backgrounds; and participation in school affairs. The evidence on each of these factors warrants some examination.

Congruence

Congruence is defined in the literature as "a state where preferences are being met." It does not necessarily imply that "purposeful action" has been taken to bring about such congruence. Therefore, congruence may be the result of either a coincidental consistency between parental preferences and school functioning or a purposeful effort by school authorities to make the schools conform to parents' expressed preferences.[45]

Congruence has been studied in terms of a number of dimensions of school functioning, notably goals, content, teaching methods (or style), and parent role.

Much of the work on educational goals has used variants of a scheme that categorizes educational goals into four types: academic/intellectual, social, personal/emotional, and practical.[46]

The work on preferred content parallels some of the writing on goals, but also considers specific areas of subject matter that parents feel are or are not appropriate to the schools. Usually, this entails analysis of parent preferences about dealing with such controversial topics as sex education, the Vietnam War, or drugs. It may also involve parental preferences about the amount of emphasis to be given to "fundamentals" vs. "frills" (i.e., the three Rs vs. cultural activities and the like.)[47] Or, the research may focus on the orientation of school content toward behavioral control vs. independence.[48]

Teaching styles have been categorized as emphasizing content, behavioral control, discovery, or sympathy. There is some overlap with the work on goals and content, but the focus here is on teachers' behaviors, especially on the dimension of authoritarian (or teacher-centered) vs. permissive (or child-centered) approaches.[49]

Analyses of parent role preferences have been concerned with two dimensions: style differences in preferred role (analogous to what we described in a previous chapter as traditional vs. reform usages of "parent participation"),[50] and appropriate parent role in school decisionmaking (i.e., how much influence or power, in which areas of decisionmaking).[51]

On all these various dimensions, parents' preferences have been found to be associated most strongly with parents' own backgrounds (i.e., race, ethnicity, and SES especially educational attainment). Other factors found to be relevant to at least some of these dimensions are type of community (e.g., community SES, or city vs. rural-town-or-suburb) and school level (i.e., elementary vs. secondary).

It is widely assumed that an important determinant of satisfaction with the schools is congruence between parents' preferences and actual school functioning. However, the evidence suggests that the relationship is rather weak. Whether one analyses the data on preferred goals, content, teaching styles, or parent roles, the pattern is generally the same. In few schools is there strong congruence between parents' expressed preferences and actual school functioning.[52] Still, parents tend to perceive congruence with their preferences (especially on the dimensions of goals and teaching styles) -- even when there is little congruence in fact.[53]

Perceived consensus does affect satisfaction;[54] however, most mothers express satisfaction even if they perceive dissensus.[55]

Why do mothers perceive consensus even when there is dissensus? And why are most mothers satisfied even if they perceive dissensus? It is possible that perceived consensus or dissensus is a consequence rather than a cause of parents' satisfaction with schools. We must, then, look elsewhere for an explanation of satisfaction.

Achievement

Perhaps the most widely held assumption about parent satisfaction with the schools is the belief that satisfaction would increase if only means could be found to improve achievement levels. This is a perfectly plausible assumption. If schools were performing well, there would seem to be little reason to expect dissatisfaction. And if schools in low-income minority communities were achieving at the same levels as schools in middle class or affluent white communities, there would be little reason to expect black parents to be more dissatisfied with the schools than white parents.

This reasoning would seem to be supported by the data -- at least at first glance. Feedback from the schools on children's performance does seem to shape parents' attitudes toward the schools. Parents of children in lower performing groups tend to be less satisfied than parents of children in higher performing groups. Parents of children placed in higher tracks tend to be more satisfied with the schools than parents of children in lower tracks; parents whose children receive grades of A and B tend to be more satisfied than parents of children who receive Cs and Ds.[56] Parents whose children are doing poorly tend to perceive more dissensus than parents whose children are doing well. And of the two factors, variables as SES are controlled, satisfaction with children's achievement is likely to be a minor factor in accounting for satisfaction with the schools.

Constrained Choice

In a particularly interesting analysis, Acland examined the effect of a variable one might reasonably expect to have some significant impact on satisfaction. He suggested that limited dissatisfaction with schools might reflect the psychic needs of parents functioning in a context of constrained choice: most parents are unable to choose the school their child attends or transfer him from a school they find unsatisfactory. Given such a predicament, dissatisfaction with the school would only set up psychic tension with no way of relieving it. Therefore, limited dissatisfaction might be accounted for by a psychological accommodation to a no-choice situation.[59] Indeed, more affluent respondents -- who have more options in choosing schooling for their children -- are more likely to be critical of the schools.[60] And the assessments of schools by Catholic parents -- who have two school systems available to them -- also appear to reflect the parameters of their choice context. Acland summarized one study's findings on this point as follows:

> ... Catholic parents use public schools because they have to and because they have to, they may discover the virtues of the system they are forced to use. Equally, Catholics who use the parochial schools may hold a relatively negative attitude toward public schools simply because it is consistent with the choice they have made. Having rejected public education, often at some cost, it is only sensible to think it must be worse than the parochial schools.[61]

To assess the effect of choice on parent satisfaction with a school, Acland reanalyzed some of the Plowden data. The English school system offers many parents a choice in selecting primary schools for their children. Still, Acland found no difference in satisfaction levels of parents who were and were not able to choose the schools their children attended. Of even greater consequence is Acland's analysis of parents who expressed desires to transfer their child from one primary school to another. There was no difference in school satisfaction expressed by parents who were granted their requests and the total sample (i.e., parents with no choice, parents granted transfer requests, and parents denied transfer requests). Parents who were denied transfer requests were more dissatisfied than other parents. Therefore, freedom of choice may not increase satisfaction with the schools but denial of choice in a context where choice is assumed to be operative may have an effect. Still, when asked about concern over their child being up to standard, differences between parents who were granted and denied transfer requests were not dramatically large. Moveover, the great majority of even those parents who were denied transfer requests remained contented with their children's education. The same pattern of evidence was revealed when Acland examined the data on preferences for academic vs. non-academic secondary schools. Parents whose children were placed in the preferred school were more content than parents whose preferences were not met. But the differences between the two groups were quite small.[62]

Acland summarized his conclusions as follows:

> First, the extent to which parents can make realistic choices about their child's school is positively related to satisfaction with the school. Second, the strength of this relationship is far weaker than might be expected. . . .
>
> Admittedly one cannot conclude than an honest attempt to give parents greater choice in their children's education is going to leave their attitudes unchanged. The test of this proposition would require nothing less than a complete alteration of the public school system and

> the way children are assigned to schools. For what these analyses hint at are very stable, resistant views about schools which may (it is tempting to argue) reflect deeply held cultural views which result from the common socialization experiences in our society. The immediate day-to-day realities of schools appear to make little impact.[63]

The evidence on choice, then, also appears to point to the all-powerful effect of parents' own backgrounds in accounting for their satisfaction with the schools.

Parents' Backgrounds

There is an extensive literature on the differences in orientations of different racial, ethnic, and especially socioeconomic subgroups toward education in general and the schools in particular.[64] Parents' own educational experiences affect their expectations about schools and what schooling can and should accomplish, how schools should function, and at what levels their children should be performing. And too, such parental experiences affect parents'perceptions of the schools their children attend, and their assessments of these schools based on these perceptions. In fact, it would seem that for most parents these background factors may be more important in explaining parental satisfaction than anything the schools actually do.

The literature is filled with commentary about how ignorant parents tend to be about the schools their children attend -- and there is a great deal of data confirming this.[65] Furthermore, data on parents' perceptions of school policies indicate that parents whose children attend the same school vary greatly in their perceptions and assessments of the same school policies and practices.[66] It would seem, then, that far more of the variation in parents' perceptions of school practices is attributable to parents' own backgrounds than to actual school practices.

SES is clearly a factor of great importance, especially parents' educational attainment. Race and ethnicity also appear to be consequential variables. Not only are black parents generally more dissatisfied with the schools and more inclined to prefer major structural changes in school system governance, but they are more distrustful of school personnel and more likely to perceive incongruence between their preferences and actual school functioning.[67] The data on white ethnic groups also show dramatic differences in expectations, perceptions, and assessments of the schools.[68]

In sum, parents' own backgrounds powerfully influence their attitudes and evaluations of the schools. No matter what other factors are examined in relation to parental satisfaction with the schools, their effects are relatively trivial in comparison to parents' backgrounds.

Are there any factors independent of parents' backgrounds that might conceivably have some impact? What of the participatory reforms envisioned by advocates of decentralization and community control?

Participation

A substantial literature is available on the relationship between parent participation and satisfaction. It fairly consistently supports the assumption that the parents who participate most in school affairs tend to be those who are most satisfied with the schools.[69] There are certain exceptions that we shall get to later in this chapter. But the effect of participation -- at least under favorable conditions -- tends to be to reassure parents that school personnel care about their students, have the professional expertise needed, and are doing all they can to help their students.[70]

Participation tends to be highly related to parents' sense of efficacy, the belief that participation will accomplish something desirable.[71]

Whether sense of efficacy is a necessary precondition of participation, a consequence of participation, or both is not entirely clear. There is probably at least some minimal level of efficacy needed for a parent to make the effort to participate. And certainly there must be some increase in efficacy from participating in a situation that proves satisfying. But all that the available correlational data indicate clearly is that participation and efficacy tend to be associated, and that both participation and efficacy tend to be related to satisfaction.[72]

Is it reasonable to conclude, then, that increasing parent participation in school affairs will increase parental satisfaction with the schools -- either directly or through its effect on increasing efficacy? Not necessarily. The problem is that participation, efficacy, and satisfaction are all so highly related to SES that it is difficult to determine from reported correlational findings how much of the satisfaction effect is to be attributed to participation per se and how much of it simply reflects SES. Controlling on SES appears to eliminate most of the association between participation and satisfaction.[73] But this may mean simply that in the existing body of correlational data the people who participate most, feel most efficacious, and are most satisfied are higher SES respondents. This need not have any bearing on the effects that might be produced in an experimental effort to increase the participation of a low-SES sample. Increasing participation in such a context might indeed result in increased satisfaction. The confounding of SES and participation in existing data may reveal little more than the methodological limitations of using correlational data to appraise assumptions requiring experimental tests.

If available data from educational and political research cannot shed light on the extent to which participation per se might be expected to increase satisfaction, are there other bodies of data that might prove helpful? There is in fact a large psychological literature on the subject and it merits careful consideration.

Psychologists have been investigating hypotheses relating participation to satisfaction for more than thirty years. Most of the basic research has been related to the development of the field of group dynamics.[74] The applied work has been oriented largely to the purposes of persuasion, most often in work-related settings[75] but occasionally in recreational or instructional contexts.[76] In all these studies, participatory styles of functioning have been contrasted with nonparticipatory styles and the outcomes have been compared. In some cases, this has meant comparing the effectiveness of group discussion and group decision techniques with lectures for purposes of instruction or persuasion.[77] In others, it has meant contrasting the effects of various leadership styles (democratic, authoritarian, laissez-faire).[78] In still others, various components of group processes have been analyzed to determine what mechanisms in the more participatory styles account for the experimental results.[79]

The main findings of these studies suggest that participation in group decisions, in groups led by individuals who encourage group discussion and decision processes leads to increased satisfaction with group membership, increased attachment to the organization, greater acceptance of the goals desired by the group leader and affirmed by the group as group goals, increased effort to achieve group goals, and greater likelihood of attitudinal or behavioral changes if such changes are required by the new group goals.

A few examples should indicate the nature and objectives of these studies. The participation research in industrial psychology tents to be concerned with securing higher levels of worker productivity and morale, greater worker satisfaction, and stronger attachment to the job (or company or union) -- much of this in the interests of reducing costly worker turnover, inefficiency, and resistance to needed changes in the work situation. Research has fairly consistently demonstrated the effectiveness of worker participation as a persuasion technique for accomplishing these company objectives.

The most impressive results were obtained in a carefully controlled study by Coch and French.[80] They were interested in overcoming the worker resistance and decreased productivity that accompanied changes in job assignments and work methods whenever the company deemed such changes necessary and tried with great difficulty to implement them. Coch and French used three different methods to introduce a set of changes in different work groups. Some groups were exposed to a "total participation" treatment: all workers in the group participated in discussions about the needed changes and how to implement them. Other work groups were given a "partial participation" or "representative participation" treatment: worker-selected representatives participated in these discussions. The remaining work groups served as "no participation" controls: management introduced the changes without any provision for any form of worker participation in discussions or decisions about the changes. The "total participation" treatment was significantly more effective than "partial participation," and both were significantly more effective than "no participation" in achieving company objectives with regard to productivity, turnover, and worker-supervisor friction. The more directly workers participated in the process of deciding how to implement the changes, the less dissatisfied they were with the changes, the more attached they remained to their jobs, and the less conflict they had with their supervisors.

In a second set of studies, group discussions were compared to lectures and individual instruction for effectiveness in getting housewives to change their family's food habits -- to increase their consumption during World War II of such low priority meats as sweetbreads, kidneys, and beef hearts; to increase their use of evaporated milk; and to increase infants' consumption of orange juice and castor oil. Group discussion methods were significantly more effective. One of the mechanisms assumed to be at work here was the greater involvement of the individual in the more participatory discussion technique and the greater attachment to the group, its norms, and its goals generated by this participatory involvement.[81]

In a set of experiments with activity groups (boys' clubs engaged in the task of making papier maché masks), comparison was made of the results of employing three different leadership styles: a participatory democratic style, an authoritarian style, and a laissez-faire approach. Morale and satisfaction were highest in the democratic groups.[82] Similar results tend to be found in studies of classroom teaching style: students tend generally to prefer teachers who use student-centered discussion approaches rather than teacher-centered lecture techniques.[83]

The case made for participation on the basis of these studies appears at first glance to be persuasive. Broad participation in decision processes would seem to be crucial if constituents are to be satisfied with their institutions, oriented positively toward those in positions of authority, and sufficiently satisfied with their performance to accept decisions as legitimate.

However, there are some problems in trying to transfer these experimental findings to grassroots participation in institutional decision-making. The most significant problem is the crucial small-group context of the experimental studies. The results of virtually all these studies can be explained in terms of group forces acting on the individual. Changes in individual attitudes or behaviors are stimulated and reinforced by the perception of a group consensus in a context where the individual values maintaining close, warm, affective ties with other group members.

Some of the distinguishing characteristics of these groups should be noted. They are small (usually less than 20 members) face-to-face groups with considerable interaction and communication among members. Affective ties are generated by the face-to-face interaction. Each group member perceives himself as a member of a definite group entity and is somewhat committed to the group. He is aware of the other members, and in somewhat enduring groups such as work groups he is concerned about the affective links between himself and other group members. The group has considerable power over its members. The individual is expected to conform to the norms of the group, and there is group pressure on individual members to conform to whatever group consensus is emerging. If behavior is to be changed, a new group norm must emerge to support the change and replace the norm that inhibited change. The member comes to accept the group goal and act accordingly through a process of commitment generated in stages in the group discussion and decision process: first, the commitment that comes from active involvement in the discussion process; then, the commitment that comes from the making of a personal decision, reinforced by the perception that the decision is coming from the group and is supported by other group members; and finally, the legitimating function of the group decision, making compliance seem right and proper.[84]

Verba contends in his analysis that small group research is useful as a heuristic model of the political process. But he makes it clear that he is aware of the limitations of small group analysis for application to large scale political systems.[85] These concerns are applicable to the school decisionmaking context as well.

One problem involves parent expectations about their roles in school system decisionmaking. Most parents neither expect nor desire to play an active role in the school policy process. They view school personnel as the experts who should be making necessary decisions. Research indicates that participation does not lead to satisfaction in situations where the skills of group members are low relative to their task.[86] Will parent involvement in deciding questions they feel incompetent to judge lead not to greater satisfaction but to the opposite? And will truly participatory reforms violate parents' expectations and produce dissatisfaction? Several studies indicate that democratic leadership styles are not effective and do not increase the satisfaction of group members when such leadership is inconsistent with the expectations of group members. Most of the participation research has been conducted in American society where democratic participation in decisionmaking is valued. Much of it has also been done in settings where democratic leadership styles tend not to violate the expectations of group members -- e.g., clubs, recreational groups, educational settings, and work groups. Satisfaction with democratic styles of leadership may be determined by cultural and situational factors. If individuals are socialized to expect more authoritarian styles of leadership, they may find the democratic style unsatisfying. National character research suggests that Germans, for instance, find authoritarian leadership more satisfying. Research in India found emotional lectures more satisfying than group discussions. Additional research suggests that American workers may be different from those in other countries in their preference for participation in work-group decisions. In military, government, and some industrial settings where a forceful leadership style is expected, authoritarian leadership behavior is considered more satisfying. Even in educational settings, when students are highly concerned about examinations and grades, they tend to find teacher-centered classrooms more satisfying than those employing student-centered discussion-oriented techniques.[87]

Even if this problem were overcome by the new expectations and norms legitimated by decentralization and community control -- or if participatory reforms were implemented primarily in those communities where greater involvement was desired, or if the parents involved were only those desirous of and expecting greater participation -- there are other problems in applying this research. We have considered in a previous chapter the distinction between the traditional and reform usages of the term "participation."[88] If there is to be greater parent participation, which forms of participation will be implemented? Will participation be used for purposes of community influence or social control? Will participation be employed in genuine problem-solving situations, or in public relations? Will school system personnel meet with parents to arrive at group decisions aimed at solving problems? Or will such participation be little more than pseudoparticipation -- a participatory style aimed not at reaching decisions but at communicating them. Pseudoparticipation is a technique of persuasion. It legitimates decisions by creating the feeling of participation. A clever group leader can manipulate a group to arrive at the decision he desires.[89] Actually, all of the applied persuasion-oriented research we have reviewed involves pseudoparticipation.

It would appear, then, that the findings of these investigations would be particularly appropriate to the traditional schoolman's usage of "participation." The difficulty, however, is that the current climate surrounding the schools in communities where there is significant disaffection is rather different from the context assumed by the traditional usage and the psychological research we have been considering. A significant problem in trying to apply the small group findings to large scale political systems is the "no conflict" assumption of small group analyses.[90] Since one of the highest values in small group situations is the maintenance of affective ties between group members, small groups are oriented toward arriving at decisions by consensus. In small group experiments there is a single goal, a single means to the goal, and group pressure to get members to accept the emerging consensus. Differences of opinion are muted. Votes are not taken on issues, for instance, since this would make salient the differences within the group. In political systems, however, there are generally conflicts over ends and means. Conflict is salient and a consensus approach tends to be unworkable. The bonds among system members are less strong; often system members -- for instance, school personnel and parents -- confront one another in a milieu of intense hostility. Missing are the satisfactions derived from a sense of group membership, or the group forces that affect individuals' emotional responses to involvement in the small-group situation. The no-conflict assumption permits focus on the decision process rather than decision outcomes. But in a conflict situation whether the individual is satisfied or dissatisfied with his participation may be significantly influenced by whether the decisions made accord with his preferences.

A distinction is being made here between the affective and instrumental consequences of participation. Involvement may increase satisfaction because the individual's ego is buttressed by the fact that he was consulted. This satisfaction may be further enhanced by the needs met by the group processes themselves. And too, involvement provides the individual with a greater understanding of why particular decisions are needed, thereby eliminating one possible source of resistance to an organizational decision. All these sources of satisfaction may be expected to increase the individual's attachment to the organization.

But in a conflict situation, are these affective sources of satisfaction sufficient to overcome the individual's instrumental interests -- i.e., preference for particular decision outcomes and opposition to others? If his participation does not result in decisions that are congruent with his preferences, will this decrease his sense of efficacy and his feelings about the organization's responsiveness to his wishes? And will this in turn decrease his attachment to the system and intensify his dissatisfaction? There is some solid evidence in educational research that when participation is associated with low efficacy the participant tends to be highly dissatisfied.[91] There is also a good deal of suggestive evidence that in a conflict or potential-conflict situation participation may increase dissatisfaction. This can be expected if participation increases a parent's awareness of either unsatisfactory conditions (e.g., overcrowding, poor physical facilities, personnel incompetence) or incongruence between his preferences and actual school functioning.[92]

Furthermore, in a conflict situation participation is not likely to increase satisfaction if participants suspect that they are being manipulated, toyed with, or allowed to participate in meaningless decisions. French, Israel and Ås, for instance, tried to replicate the Coch and French study in a Norwegian factory, but the experiment failed.[93] One explanation for the failure might be that the decision they selected was not meaningfully related to the workers' jobs. If an opportunity to participate is interpreted merely as "token" participation, the effects that usually accompany "legitimate" participation may not be forthcoming. If such was the case in a minimal-conflict industrial setting, it should apply with considerably greater force to a school system operating in a tense school-community environment.

And how satisfying will participation be in a social situation that generates anxiety? The educational literature contains numerous references to the discomfort felt by lower-class parents when they are placed in situations where they must interact with middle-class people -- teachers, principals, other parents.[94] Middle class and lower class or working class participatory styles are frequently contrasted -- middle class people being more oriented to participation in formal organizations, lower class or working class parents preferring more informal means of parent-school contact.[95] And reformers argue that if school personnel are truly interested in increasing parent participation in lower-SES communities, they must develop participatory mechanisms more suited to the participatory styles of these communities -- e.g., sewing clubs rather than PTAs.[96] Whether participation produces satisfaction or dissatisfaction, then, may well be determined by the form of participation provided and its appropriateness to the participatory style favored by a given population subgroup.

What can one conclude from all this research on the relationship between participation and satisfaction? Proponents of participatory strategies tend to argue that the psychological mechanisms are constant whether the context is a small, face-to-face, enduring work group or a political system; that the act of participation is satisfying in and of itself; and that participation will inevitably increase satisfaction and attachment to the system.[97] For the present, we can conclude that the evidence tends to support the assumption that participation can increase satisfaction -- at least under conditions where the instrumental and affective outcomes of that participation are not unsatisfying. None of the evidence provides grounds to doubt the assumption.

Is participation, then, the key to reforming institutions to make them more satisfying to their clients? However persuasive the data on the general relationship between participation and satisfaction, this evidence alone would not be sufficient to support the wisdom of adopting participatory strategies. Additional evidence would be needed to demonstrate the feasibility of such approaches for producing these effects in the target population of policy concern. In the next chapter, we shall turn to available evidence on the feasibility of increasing participation in low-income communities -- the extent to which participation levels might be raised, and the conditions under which this is and is not likely to occur.

CHAPTER IX

FEASIBILITY: THE EVIDENCE ON MALLEABILITY OF PARTICIPATION LEVELS

The target population of concern in decentralization and community control were residents of low-income minority communities. However, the assumptions underlying the policy rationale were believed to have universal applicability. The causal model was assumed to provide the reasons for poor school-community relations and low academic achievement in low-income minority communities; it was also assumed to provide the reasons for good school-community relations and high academic achievement in middle-income or affluent white communities -- especially those located in suburbs. The model was premised on the belief that conditions favorable to good school-community relations and high achievement already existed in the white areas but were generally lacking in low-income minority neighborhoods. If only those favorable suburban-type conditions could be replicated in the inner-city, those same desirable outcomes would inevitably follow. Or at least so the argument went. "What's good for Scarsdale is good for Harlem," or Bedford-Stuyvesant, or Ocean Hill-Brownsville.[1]

This analogical argument assumed the existence of high participation levels in middle-income white suburbs and posited this participation as the causal force producing such desired effects as institutional responsiveness, academic achievement, and citizen satisfaction. It assumed further that high participation levels in suburbs were a consequence of certain political/administrative/institutional conditions (e.g., small size of governmental units, community control, and institutional arrangements encouraging participation) and not a consequence of the personal attributes of suburban residents (e.g., the background traits associated with SES). Most important, the analogical argument assumed that the generally low participation levels in inner-city communities would rise toward suburban levels if only the favorable political/administrative/institutional conditions of the suburbs were established in inner-city areas.

Basic to the analogical argument, then, were assumptions about participation rates, antecedents, and correlates. Of particular importance were assumptions about which of the correlates of participation were to be assigned causal status and the extent to which participatory behaviors were responsive to alterations in situational forces. Therefore, it is important to consider the available evidence on these matters and to arrive at some conclusions about the feasibility of significantly increasing inner-city participation levels through the policy changes inherent in the decentralization/community control strategy.

PARTICIPATION RATES

In the past three to four decades, political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, educational researchers, and public opinion pollsters have accumulated voluminous data about participation. The findings are highly consistent. Regardless of the area of institutional life toward which participation is directed (e.g., schools, the whole range of formal voluntary associations, or the political system), the form of mass participation studied (e.g., voting, organizational membership, meeting attendance), or even the population sampled, participation rates are generally low.

No matter what measure of participation is used, active participation in public affairs[2] tends to characterize the behavior of a small segment of the population. Estimates of the percentage who are very active in political affairs range from 5% to 10%; the somewhat active, perhaps another 17% to 30%; the majority of the population must be categorized as inactive.[3] Even in presidential elections, 35% to 40% fail to do as little as cast their vote.[4] Research on organizational participation has uncovered the same pattern as investigations of political participation. A large part of the population belongs to no formal organizations of any kind;[5] at most, perhaps 32% of the population belong to more than one formal organization.[6]

One might assume that participation levels in school affairs would be higher than participation in general community affairs given the direct and personal interest most families and taxpayers have in the schools. However, this does not appear to be the case.

It may not be surprising that most nonparent taxpayers fail to participate in school affairs through the few channels open to them -- attending school board meetings or hearings, attending school activities open to the community, serving on or working with citizens' committees, or even voting in school board or school financial elections.[7] Nor may it be surprising that most of them cannot report having talked with anyone recently about school matters.[8]

But when the same questions are asked of parents whose children are currently attending the public schools, the results are still not encouraging. Reported participation levels vary with the population sampled[9] and the form of participation investigated, but active participation -- regardless of how that is defined -- tends to characterize the behavior of only a small segment of even the parent population.

A few examples should suffice to make the point. National surveys have found that perhaps half of all public school parents are members of school PTAs or similar groups.[10] However, much smaller percentages attend meetings regularly (22% in a national survey of public school parents,[11] 13% in a national sample of parents of high school seniors,[12] 11% in a survey of parents of school-age children in a low-income neighborhood in New York City[13]). One study of parents in metropolitan areas found that 40% of parents with children currently in school had not attended even one parent association meeting in the last two years.[14] In a national sample, at least two out of five parents with children in the public schools reported that they had not attended meetings or activities of any kind in the local school in the last year.[15] Fewer than one in five had ever attended a school board meeting.[16] Despite the clear implications of school financial elections for all concerned -- as taxpayers if in no other capacity -- the average turnout in these elections is around 36%.[17] Even when reported voting is analyzed by parental status, fewer than half the parents with school-age children generally turn out to vote in these elections.[18] In one low-income neighborhood nearly one out of three parents had no contact at all with the school, not even informal school visiting.[19] And in a national sample of parents of high school seniors, most indicated that even when they felt a grievance over something that happened in the school they made no effort to contact school personnel about it.[20]

The available evidence, then, indicates clearly that participation -- whether in political affairs, community organizational life, or school affairs -- is somewhat limited. The analogical argument assumed the existence of high participation levels as a crucial factor accounting for the good school-community relations, high academic achievement, and citizen satisfaction with the schools in middle class or affluent white communities, especially suburbs. Does the evidence of generally low participation levels in national samples and particular area samples invalidate this argument? Certainly the evidence suggests that the assumption of notably high participation levels may need some modification. But if one delves into the distribution of participation among population subgroups the general thrust of the analogical argument is sustained.

CORRELATES OF PARTICIPATION: ASSOCIATION OR CAUSATION?

Participation is differentially distributed among subgroups of the population. Higher SES individuals and communities tend to have higher participation levels than lower SES individuals and communities. The strong relationship between SES and participation is one of the most constant findings in the participation literature -- regardless of the form of participation analyzed or whether the area investigated is political participation, organizational participation, or educational participation.[21] Furthermore, participation in one area of community affairs is highly related to participation in other areas of community life. Those higher SES individuals who participate most in the political system tend to be the same individuals who participate most in the organizational life of a community, including participation in school-related organizations.[22]

Given the relationship between race and SES in this country, it should not be surprising that whites and white communities tend to have higher participation levels than nonwhites and nonwhite communities. If SES is controlled, blacks actually participate significantly more than whites, especially at lower SES levels.[23] But the comparison of interest in the analogical argument is not between black and white communities of similar SES. Rather, it is between middle-income or affluent white suburbs and low-income minority communities. Therefore, even if the high participation levels assumed to characterize the suburbs are in fact rather modest, they are still considerably higher than the participation levels of the inner city.

If the analogical argument is to be validated, it must be demonstrated that the participation-SES link can be broken. The relationship between SES and participation must be shown to be an association -- a descriptive fact about phenomena that happen to covary in empirical reality as it is now -- but an association without a necessary causal link and therefore no predictive significance about the way things might be in some future reality. In other words, participation must be shown to be SES-related without being SES-determined.

One approach to this has been taken by researchers who have attempted to separate and estimate the independent effects of SES and some of its correlates, notably organizational involvement. Higher SES individuals tend to be highly involved in social networks of organizational affiliations that increase their awareness of public issues, their skills and ease in formal organizational situations, and so on. Such individuals are more likely to engage in many areas of participatory activity -- in school affairs as well as other areas of community functioning. But is the force that stimulates this broad involvement the higher income, educational attainment, and occupational status that defines their SES; or instead is the real causal force to be found in the social networks generated by their greater organizational involvement? And if the latter, can high levels of organizational involvement be replicated in lower-income communities? The field of community organizing is premised on the belief that providing the resources for community organizing can indeed stimulate higher participation levels, that such participation will be used to build power bases, and that power will be used to achieve redistributive goals.

Researchers have demonstrated that organizational involvement is as good or better than SES as a predictor of political participation.[24] Organizational involvement also appears to be a good predictor of school activism.[25] And we have already considered the fact that if SES is controlled blacks actually participate significantly more than whites, especially at lower SES levels. Our own research suggests that nonwhite communities in New York City are in fact significantly more organized than white neighborhoods.[26] The implication of these findings would seem to be that there already exists in low-income communities the organizational structure that could stimulate higher levels of participation directed at such institutions as the schools. This this organizational structure is not functioning in this manner may well be explained by the presence of other forces in these communities that act as barriers to such participation.

One such set of forces might be learned responses to an institutional environment not overly hospitable to low-income minority participation. Milbrath presented this idea in the framework of learning theory.[27] He conceptualized SES in terms of differential environments and discussed participation as a learned behavior. Demographic differences by SES, race, religion, sex, age, region, and the like reflect differences in the environments in which people grow up, learn what is expected of them, acquire expectations of their own, and develop patterns of behavior. The environments of different demographic subgroups present differential distributions of opportunities for participation or barriers to such participation. Reinforcement from environmental stimuli critically influences the acquisition of a pattern of participatory behavior. Higher SES individuals grow up in environments that provide many opportunities, many reinforcing rewards, and few barriers to the acquisition of participatory behaviors. Lower SES individuals, however, are confronted with few opportunities, few rewarding encounters with participation that might function as positive reinforcements, and many barriers that act as negative reinforcements. Consequently, there is little incentive for participation and much to dissuade one from making the effort.

If the opportunities and rewarding encounters with participation so characteristic of higher SES communities were made available in lower SES neighborhoods, perhaps learned participatory behaviors could become equally prevalent. But how might this be accomplished? It is this question that is at the crux of the analogical argument and the decentralization/community control rationale. The answer to this question points to the defining inputs of the decentralization/community control strategy.

RAISING PARTICIPATION LEVELS

Proponents of participatory strategies assume that participation levels can be raised by altering institutional/political/administrative arrangements. The literature tends to deal with three kinds of changes -- changes in the size of governmental units; changes in the boundaries of governmental units to conform to notions of "community"; and changes in institutional arrangements that would permit and encourage increased levels of community participation. Evidence available to test these assumptions, however, presents less than a clearcut picture. The strength of the case for the feasibility of participatory strategies rests on the validity of these assumptions. Therefore the evidence relevant to each kind of proposed change merits careful review.

Decreasing the Size of Governmental Units

Size is one critical element in the analogical argument. Suburbs are assumed to have higher participation levels than central city neighborhoods primarily because of the smallness of the governmental unit and the closeness of the governing structure to the people represented. Certainly the argument makes intuitive sense, and it has been supported in some empirical research as well. Individual schools, school districts, business and industrial settings have been examined, with findings usually confirming higher participation levels in smaller units.[28] What is unclear from these studies, however, is whether size is the critical factor explaining participation levels or whether other factors, uncontrolled in these studies, are in fact accounting for the relationship.

Barker and Gump, for instance, reviewed studies indicating a correlation between type and amount of student participation, on the one hand, and school size, on the other.[29] But it is highly likely that smaller schools are located in suburban and rural areas while larger schools are located in central city areas. The differences in student participation patterns might be less reflective of school size than differences in background characteristics of residents in central city vs. rural or suburban areas. We will return to this point later.

Similarly, Mort and Cornell reported a correlation between district size and participation levels of parent and teacher groups, even when school size was controlled. But district size is even more likely than school size to reflect differences between central city and rural or suburban areas, and these area types were not controlled.[30]

Studies conducted in commercial and industrial settings have also confirmed the finding of lower participation in larger units.[31] In Indik's study of 96 businesses, the intervening variable between size and participation levels was found to be difficulty of communication among members.[32] It seems perfectly reasonable to accept the fact that communication gets more difficult with organizational size and to acknowledge the probable link between communication networks and participation levels. Still, it is unclear whether size alone accounts for the communication difficulties or whether it is some other factor such as bureaucratization. Although large size and bureaucratization often occur together in organizations, it is not entirely clear that size is the cause of bureaucratization or such problems as communication difficulties that are common in over-bureaucratized organizations. Cohen and Smith concluded from their review of evidence on the size-bureaucracy relationship that the results vary with the measure of bureaucracy used and that there is no reason to regard any one measure of bureaucratization as preferable to others. From their own investigation of data on school system size and bureaucratization, they concluded that size and bureaucracy are independent and that both are explained by community characteristics.[33]

Proponents of the analogical argument assume that participation is higher in smaller governmental units and contrast city and suburban participation patterns to prove their case. Some studies of city-suburban differences confirm the expected higher participation levels of suburban residents[34] and some of these suggest that the differences are due to community scale.[35] Another study found little evidence that suburbanites participate more actively than city residents; however, a small minority of the suburbanites did express a belief that they had greater access to government officials than they would have if they lived in larger communities.[36]

Zimmer and Hawley study's of six metropolitan areas was the most carefully designed investigation to explore the effects of community size and type on participation in school affairs. The six areas investigated varied in size and in growth rates. Within each area, comparable data were gathered from city and suburban residents. Size of metropolitan area was found to have little effect on most of the participation indicators studied.[37] City-suburban differences were of greater consequence. Still, on such measures as attending PTA meetings and voting in school elections the suburban advantage was not very large. The most substantial differences were on such indicators as attending local school board meetings or talking with the school superintendent or a school board member:[38] the suburban rates were almost twice as high as the city rates. However, the proportion of residents engaging in these activities was small in all areas (the highest figure was 15%).

The measures used by Zimmer and Hawley, however, were severely limited. They failed to tap either the quantity or quality of participation and simply separated those who had participated to any extent from those who had not participated at all. (For instance, the measure of PTA attendance was whether one had attended any PTA meeting in the last two years; the measure of school board attendance was whether one had ever attended a school board meeting.) It is quite possible that suburban participants are more frequent and more active participants. Therefore these data may not be adequate to cast doubt on the assumed city-suburban differences in participation rates.

However, even within these limitations, the Zimmer and Hawley analysis is of great value for the light it casts on the relative explanatory power of community size, community type (city vs. suburb), and population characteristics for understanding differences in participation. Their data demonstrate clearly that population background characteristics are far more important in explaining school participation rates than either size of metropolitan area or city-suburban community type. The residents of cities and suburbs tend to differ in at least three sets of attributes that significantly influence participation in school affairs: age (and therefore proportion of the population with school-age children); proportion Catholic; and socioeconomic status.

Not surprisingly, community residents with school-age children participate far more in school affairs than residents without school-age children.[39] A large proportion of the population in most communities are without school-age children, but the proportion tends to be much higher in the cities than in the suburbs.[40] The Zimmer and Hawley data confirm the usual findings of more households without children in cities than in suburbs. Moreover, the data indicate that suburban families are more likely to have several children in school at the same time and therefore more meetings and conferences to attend and perhaps PTAs in two or three schools.

Suburban residents also make greater use of the public schools. Central cities tend to contain large proportions of Catholics (51% of the households in the Zimmer and Hawley sample), and many Catholics send their children to parochial schools.[41] On such participation indicators as voting in school elections, public school parents tend to be more active than parents with children in nonpublic schools, despite the financial stake all have in the outcome of tax and bond elections.[42]

Perhaps the most critical factor overlooked in contrasting city-suburban participation rates is socioeconomic differences between residents of city and suburban areas. Cities tend to have large proportions of low-income residents with little education and low status occupations -- all factors associated with low participation rates. Zimmer and Hawley's data indicate that the suburban advantage in participation levels is almost eliminated when education, income, and occupational status are controlled.[43] There is, then, some reason to question the assumed malleability of participation rates simply by changing the size of governmental units in city districts to more closely resemble suburban-sized districts. If differential participation rates are due to the selective migration of different kinds of people to cities and suburbs, then it is the characteristics of the populations rather than the governmental units that account for differences in participation levels.

That this may indeed be true seems further supported by a study of the move of a whole division of Ford Motor Company employees and their families from city to suburb. Two and a half years after the move, Bennett Berger studied the consequences of this move for the transplanted blue-collar families. He found the families little affected by the suburban context. They did not adopt the attitudes, behaviors, or life style generally associated with the suburban context. Participation patterns did not change. Working class patterns and styles were maintained.[44] Berger summarized his findings some years later as follows:

> Social class, the age-composition of residents, the age of the neighborhood are much more profound predictors of style of life than is residential location with respect to city limits.[45]

Subsequent research on suburbs, he argued, provided further support for his findings.[46]

In Berger's study, community scale and its assumed effects on participation and other elements of life style were not powerful enough to overcome the socialization experiences related to SES. There would seem, then,to be some reason to question the effectiveness of participation strategies based simply on decreasing school district size.

Changing Boundaries of Governmental Units to Conform to Notions of "Community"

Community control advocates have argued for the desirability of redrawing school district boundaries to conform more closely to notions of "community." The "community" concept in these writings occasionally involves some idea of community identity -- Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, or Ocen Hill-Brownsville as places residents think of as community entities. But more often the notion of community simply reflects ideas about ethnic solidarity and homogeneous populations.[47]

Some of the reasons offered for the need to redraw boundaries in accord with ideas of "community" are basically political and economic: the primary interest is in developing power bases for the furtherance of community development objectives. Other arguments, however, relate to assumptions about participation and the positive psychological consequences expected to follow from residents' involvement in community affairs. Contrary to previously-held beliefs about the destructive psychological effects of ghettoized atmospheres, community consciousness in ghetto areas is expected to further ethnic solidarity and to promote the sense of identity believed to be a precondition for efficacy and therefore for striving behaviors in one's own interests.[48]

To support the assumption that participation rates would be higher in such redistricted "communities," community control advocates point to evidence relating participation to homogeneity or heterogeneity of population makeup.[49] And there is considerable evidence on this point beyond the studies they cite.

In Norwegian general election studies, for instance, turnout was found to be higher in areas that were homogeneous in SES.[50] Some studies of political participation in the United States have found that in heterogeneous communities there tends to be higher levels of participation among members of the majority segment of each community than among its minorities. Working class residents in particular are far more likely to participate in working class communities than in communities that are predominantly middle class.[51] Similarly, Jennings found that parents were far more likely to try to redress school grievances by dealing directly with school personnel if they were in the majority segment of the community population (by social class or by religion).[52]

In Nathalie Friedman's study of school participation, parents' educational attainment was shown to have a conditional effect on the relationship between community SES and participation in school affairs. Middle class communities had higher school participation levels than working class communities; however, when parents' educational attainment was controlled it became clear that only college-educated families were significantly affected. College-educated parents participated at significantly higher levels in middle class communities (where they were in the majority) than in working class communities where they represented a small minority. Noncollege families were not affected by community SES; their participation in middle class communities was probably inhibited by a feeling of inadequacy in contact with middle class parents; their low participation in working class areas was probably a reflection of the generally nonparticipatory norms of the community as a whole.[53]

The Friedman data underscore an important point. Working class participation rates may be higher in working class communities than in predominantly middle class areas. But they are generally low in all areas. How much of an increase in participation, then, can be expected from redrawing district boundaries in accord with ethnic residential patterns? Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, for instance, have long been ethnically homogeneous working class or lower class communities and have entire school districts located within their community areas. Still, participation in school affairs has been dismally low.

If the intent is to raise achievement levels, the crucial ingredient in community control may not be "community" -- understood in terms of an ethnically homogeneous population. Rather, the propelling force may be control. This bring us to the third kind of change proposed by decentralization/community control advocates in the interests of raising participation levels -- changes in institutional arrangements.

Structural Arrangements to Increase Participation

Political scientists have extensively analyzed and theorized about the roots of low participation levels and the conditions necessary to increase participatory behavior.[54] They have described the determinants of participation rates in terms of individual attributes, cultural conduciveness, and structural conduciveness.[55]

Individual attributes include such social and psychological traits as SES, race, religion, sex, age, sense of efficacy (or alienation, or anomie), feelings of competence or inadequacy in social situations, motivation to participate (relevance to personal interests, relationship to sources of personal satisfaction, expectations about potential benefits and costs of participation), and resources (intellectual and social skills, time, and money).[56]

Cultural conduciveness refers to norms and attitudes that characterize the cultures or subcultures of different groups, affect and are affected by their socialization experiences, and function to facilitate or inhibit participation. Such attitudes include beliefs about the manipulability of the environment, responsiveness of the government, trust in government officials, trust in other citizens (with whom one must join in participatory activities), and beliefs about the legitimacy of political activism.[57]

Structural conduciveness refers to factors characterizing the particular social/political system in which the individual is to participate. Such factors include the availability of regularized procedures and channels for participation; availability of information; formal structures and their effects on political campaigns and system functioning (e.g., machines vs. reform institutions, power balance between elected officials and organized groups); procedures to elicit participation, such as elections; characteristics of campaigns (e.g., partisan vs. nonpartisan, controversial vs. noncontroversial); formal organizational structure of a community; and political or institutional obstacles to participation.[58]

The decentralization/community control strategy was concerned with the structural influences on participation. It was intended to create conditions that increased the opportunities for rewarding participation and decreased the barriers to such participation, particularly organizational obstacles to citizen participation in low-income minority communities. The analogical argument assumed that structural conditions in suburbs encouraged and facilitated participation while those in inner-city communities inhibited active parent involvement in school affairs. Not only were school officials in middle-class white communities believed to be more receptive to parental involvement, but also they were assumed to make more of an effort to keep parents informed about school affairs and to provide more channels for parent and community access and influence. Participation, it was contended, was a response to opportunities to participate -- and surely participation would increase in the inner city under the same conditions in which it flourished in the suburbs.

What does available evidence suggest about the validity of this argument? Recent studies of Negro voting behavior provide some support for the argument that participation rates may be a function of institutional arrangements. National figures comparing voting turnout of blacks and whites used to consistently find significantly smaller percentages of blacks voting, but the difference was primarily attributable to depressed voting rates of Negro voters in the South.[59] In Northern urban areas, blacks have usually had high voting rates, in some instances higher rates of political activism than whites;[60] when SES is controlled, there is little difference between black and white voting rates.[61]

In the South, however, especially before the mid-'50s, blacks turned out at the polls in relatively small numbers. That this can be regarded as a product of institutional arrangements is clear in examining two factors Anthony Orum concluded to be most significant in explaining low Southern black turnout: extralegal arrangements that kept Negroes from voting and low education levels that were attributable at least to some extent to the operation of a dual school system in the South.

Southern Negro voting statistics since passage of the Civil Rights Acts and especially the Voting Rights Act of 1965 seem to support the argument that participation levels can be raised by changing institutional arrangements. Orum reviewed evidence demonstrating the great increase in

Negro voting turnout between 1952 and 1960 while the voting turnout of the nation as a whole remained relatively stable.[62] The gains were made for the most part in the South as extralegal restrictions were removed and as a new atmosphere supportive of black political participation began to develop among Southern blacks.

In a study of changes in Negro political mobilization in Alabama between 1960 and 1966, Johnnie Daniel presented evidence of significant increases in Negro voting registration in those counties where federal examiners were present to protect black voters or where Negro candidates were on the ballot. The greatest increases of all were found in counties where there were both federal examiners and black candidates. Daniel concluded that studies of Southern Negro political behavior before 1965 were out of date. He interpreted low prior levels of participation as reflecting not apathy but the legal and extralegal barriers to black political participation in the Southern social and political systems. Political behavior changed, he argued, where institutional arrangements were significantly altered. Political mobilization was greatest where there seemed the greatest possibility of influencing the outcome of an election.[63]

Certainly the data Orum and Daniel presented are persuasive. But clearly, the conditions affecting Southern Negro voting patterns represented an extreme example of institutional arrangements inhibiting behavior. Would participatory behavior under more voluntary, less repressive conditions show the same degree of malleability when structural conditions are altered?

Lois Steinberg, in a study of school politics in a New York area suburb, made a case for the channels argument by stressing the relationship between low participation levels and depoliticization of school affairs.[64]

Her contention, expanded somewhat with arguments and data from other sources,[65] went as follows: Participation in school affairs remains low because institutional arrangements have been fashioned intentionally to discourage participation. Depoliticization of school affairs has gone hand in hand with increased professionalization. School decisions have been presented to the public as reflecting technical rather than political considerations, requiring professional expertise rather than broad participation. Professionalism brought with it middle class notions of the nonpolitical nature of educational decisionmaking, norms that inhibited public interference with professionals' decisions or actions, nonpartisan elections less likely to spark the interest level that accompanies partisan controversy, and the consensus facade taken by school boards in presenting their decisions to the public. Lacking are observable issues that might stimulate controversy and greater public participation or even effective channels for expressing discontent or influencing decisions. The public accepts the existing arrangement, and even those who question it see little they can do to affect it. The consequence is to effectively confine public participation in school affairs to a few limited channels such as voting and attending meetings. Because no channels exist for sustained involvement or substantive participation in policy decisions on academic matters, participation tends to be episodic rather than sustained and restricted largely to economic rather than educational matters.

Unfortunately, Steinberg's case study does not contain the kind of data she needed to support the argument. She simply contrasted the limited role permitted the public under one school board and superintendent with the more consultative orientation of the school board and superintendent who replaced them. Not surprisingly, public participation was greater under the latter administration. Her causal assumptions, however, are hardly supported. Though public participation may have been limited under the previous administration and channels for dissent few, citizens unhappy with the previous administration were able to force their removal. If lack of channels for participation and dissent keeps participation and dissent limited, how did this group gain sufficient power to force the change? And if the new board and superintendent came to office on the heels of this controversy, is it realistic to assume that the attitudes of the new board and superintendent toward public participation and the channels they provided were the cause of increased participation? It seems more plausible to interpret the direction of the relationship as the reverse, that the new board and superintendent established channels for public participation in response to strong pressures from an already powerfully participating public.

Might participation levels increase if the public received more information about school affairs? Numerous studies have found that the more political stimuli there are in the environment, the more likely people are to perceive them, and further, that the people who participate most are those who are most aware of the political stimuli in their environment.[66]

Although the relationships are somewhat cumulative, it seems unlikely that an increase in stimuli will lead to an increase in interest unless the individual is already highly interested and receptive to the stimuli. This provise seems supported by data gathered by Campbell and his colleagues in their voting studies. They found that television increased the absolute level of political stimuli in the environment, but that levels of political interest and participation remained reasonably constant.[67] Therefore, it seems unlikely that informational campaigns in themselves will increase participation in school affairs. However, the possibility should not be dismissed altogether. Knowledge in depth, such as the kind provided in parent leadership development programs or even in PTA workshops, might well affect parental sense of efficacy, a factor highly related to participation.

Yet there is also a considerable amount of evidence suggesting a less optimistic prognosis. An extensive amount of research has confirmed the not unexpected relationship between participation and interest or psychological involvement.[68] Yet four-fifths of a community sample in one study asserted that they could think of nothing that would increase their interest in school affairs.[69] Of course one need not give too much weight to such judgments: interest in school issues has become intense and participation rates have increased dramatically with the eruption of school controversies over such issues as desegregation and community control. But certainly there does not seem to be the vast reservoir of interest in conventional day-to-day matters of school policy that would seem to be a prerequisite to an enlarged community role in school governance.

Perhaps the strongest case for the channels argument is to be found in data gathered by Nathalie Friedman as part of a larger research effort directed by David Wilder.[70] The Friedman-Wilder data suggest that higher parent participation rates in certain schools are the result of greater opportunities for parent participation provided in these schools. The schools included in their sample varied on a number of dimensions: community SES, community type (rural, small town, suburb, or city), and school level (elementary vs. high schools).

Parent participation rates were found to vary systematically along each of these dimensions: participation rates were higher in middle class than working class communities, higher in suburbs than other community types, and higher in elementary schools than in high schools. But the same systematic differences were found in quantity of arrangements provided for parent participation in school affairs: more opportunities for participation were available in middle class than in working class communities, in suburbs than in other community types, and in elementary schools than in high schools. When the participation data were analyzed controlling for participation opportunities, the differences in participation rates were greatly reduced.

> Thus it appears that a differentiator of utilization rates is the structural property of observability. For while the socio-economic level of the community makes a difference alone, when opportunity is equalized the general socio-economic level of the community has little impact on the utilization rates of mothers.
>
> These findings raise more general questions about participation in voluntary associational activities and social class. They suggest that both social class and the opportunity structure must be considered, for given sufficient opportunity for participation, the traditionally apathetic working-class individual is almost as likely as his middle-class counterpart to take advantage of the opportunity.[71]

The analysis clearly shows a high correlation between participation and provision of arrangements to elicit participation (referred to as observability arrangements[72]). What is debatable, however, is the direction of causality assumed in the interpretation of the data. Friedman interpreted observability arrangements as the cause and level of participation as the effect. Level of parent participation, according to this view, is a response to the amount of opportunity provided for participation. Observability arrangements are assumed to reflect the norms of a school's personnel with regard to the desirability of parent participation. This position would seem to support the analogical argument and the feasibility of increasing participation through institutional reform.

Differences between cities and suburbs or between middle class and working class communities could be reduced, according to this argument, if school personnel in city and working class communities were more supportive of parent participation and if the extensive provision of observability arrangements found in suburbs and middle class communities were reproduced in city and working class communities.

However, another interpretation is equally plausible. It seems just as likely that the direction of the relationship is the reverse: greater provision of observability arrangements in suburbs and middle class communities may be a response to pressures from participating parents. Friedman admitted that schoolmen may be responding to parent participation by establishing these arrangements or responding to what school personnel perceive as parent expectations with regard to such arrangements.[73] And if this is the case, then the antecedent condition explaining both higher participation levels and more observability arrangements might well be attributes of the population, particularly higher education levels in suburbs and middle class communities.[74]

There are further problems in trying to untangle the direction of causality in the participation-observability relationship. There appears to be an element of circularity in the manner in which participation and observability were defined in this research. Both participation and observability were defined in terms of three kinds of channels schools offer for school-parent contact: Back-to-School Night, Parent-Teacher Conferences, and Parent-Teacher Associations.

The researchers gave each school in their sample an observability score from 0 to 4, depending on how many of these arrangements the school provided. Back-to-School Night and Parent-Teacher Conferences counted one point each. The existence of a PTA was worth another point, and an active PTA was given an additional point. A school with none of these arrangements was assigned an observability score of 0; a school with all three arrangements and an active PTA was given an observability score of 4.

Parent participation levels were measured in terms of how many of the three channels each parent used. Each parent was assigned a score from 0 to 3 on an index of formal contact: 0 if they used none of these channels; 1, 2, or 3 depending on how many of the three channels the parent used.[75]

For purposes of data analysis by crosstabulations and percentages, both sets of scores were dichotomized: high observability schools (scores 3 or 4) and low observability schools (scores 0, 1, or 2); high contact parents (scores 2 and 3); and low contact parents (scores 0 and 1). Percentages of high and low contact parents in high and low observability schools in each community type and school level were then presented to demonstrate the strong relationship between participation levels and observability arrangements.

These procedures are questionable for proving a causal relationship between observability arrangements and participation. When one carefully examines the arrangements provided in high and low observability schools, it becomes clear that the PTA is the crucial arrangement distinguishing the two groups of schools. The data on Back-to-School Night and Parent-Teacher Conferences are superfluous: they provide no additional information that is not available from use of the PTA criterion alone. All high observability schools have active PTAs; no low observability schools have active PTAs. And nowhere in these reports is active PTA defined. Since active PTAs tend to be those with high participation levels, the finding that high observability schools have high participation rates means simply that schools with high participation (in PTAs) have generally high participation (in all arrangements for contact between parents and school personnel). This is by no means surprising given the supportive information-disseminating function of PTAs and the consistent finding in participation research that people who engage in some kinds of formal participation are likely to engage in many other kinds of participation.[76]

The problem of circularity in this study does not end there. The critical role of the PTA as the institutional arrangement distinguishing high and low observability schools suggests another difficulty. Research on social and political participation suggests that the more formal the kind of participation studied, the more likely it is to be disproportionately dominated by middle class people.[77] Membership in formal voluntary organizations has been found to be consistently greater among middle class than among working class people,[78] particularly when the organizations are oriented toward community improvement or play a supportive role for some public institution. It should be no surprise, then, that PTAs tend to be middle class organizations: they tend to be most active in middle class communities, and in working class or lower class communities they tend to be dominated by a middle class minority. If participation levels are higher in high observability schools, and if high observability schools are those with active PTAs that are likely to have high participation levels (particularly of middle class parents), might not all of this be a function of middle class population attributes rather than institutional observability arrangements? If such is the case, then the relationship between observability and high participation is spurious: both are caused by the antecedent condition of SES.

The Friedman data permit us to examine this possibility. The data support the hypothesis that the more formal the observability arrangement, the greater the middle class advantage over working class parents in participation rates. Parent-Teacher Conferences, the least formal arrangement, showed the smallest participation differences by social class. Back-to-School Night, a more formal arrangement -- involving meetings of school personnel with groups of parents -- showed greater social class differences. The most formal channel of the three, the PTA, showed the greatest social class differences of all.[79]

Further, PTA use was high only in suburbs and not in city neighborhoods, small towns, or rural areas. Friedman suggested that this probably reflected a greater orientation toward formal organizations in suburbs, and this, she admitted, is most likely the result of selective migration to suburbs of certain kinds of people whose personal attributes include valuing a participatory life style.[80] Again, we find the critical explanation to lie in population characteristics rather than institutional arrangements or other such environmental conditions readily susceptible to manipulation.

Not surprisingly, when the data were analyzed by family SES, college-educated families demonstrated higher levels of participation than non-college families.[81] And, just as differences in participation level by community SES were greater with increasing formality of observability arrangements, differences between college and noncollege parents were smallest in attendance at Parent-Teacher Conferences and greatest in attendance at PTA meetings.

To test the relative explanatory power of observability arrangements, on the one hand, and individual attributes, on the other, Friedman introduced these variables one by one as controls on the relationships she had already established. First, she controlled for parents' educational attainment. Community-level differences in participation persisted; however, as previously discussed in this chapter, parents' education did have a conditional effect on the relationship between participation and community SES. It was clear from this analysis that only the participation levels of college-educated families were significantly affected by community SES: they participated at higher levels in middle class communities than in working class communities, where they were in a small minority (15%). Working class families participated at low levels whether they lived in working class or in middle class communities, though perhaps for different reasons.[82]

After establishing the conditional effect of family SES on the relationship between participation and community SES, Friedman introduced high-low observability as a second control. She had already established the point that high observability schools had higher participation levels than low observability schools, regardless of community SES. When observability was introduced as a control on the participation/community-SES/family-education relationship, the effect of community SES was eliminated for college-educated families: they participated at high levels in high observability schools regardless of community SES.

In explaining participation, then, observability arrangements appear to be more critical than community SES or family education: noncollege parents in working class areas under high observability conditions had higher participation rates than college parents in middle class areas under low observability conditions. Whatever the explanation for low participation under low observability conditions -- even for college-educated families in middle class communities -- it seems clear that higher participation levels in working class areas under high observability conditions are due to the increased turnout of the small minority of college-educated parents in the working class areas. Under high observability, both college and noncollege parents participate more, but the effect is especially pronounced for college-educated parents.

We have already considered the possibility that observability represents not a real condition but an artifact of the way in which it was defined and measured. In addition, the findings we have just reviewed suggest that there are further problems with the contention that participation differences between middle class and working class communities are in fact due to differences in institutional arrangements provided by school personnel. Even if we were willing to ignore the directional issue of participation (pressure) leading to observability arrangements rather than such arrangements stimulating participation, and even if we were willing to grant the validity of the observability measure as representing opportunities for participation, we would still have to reckon with the fact that it is primarily college-educated parents who respond to observability arrangements. The critical variable, therefore, is an individual attribute (parents' education) rather than a structural factor (school observability arrangements). At best, the effect is to be explained by an interaction between an individual attribute and a structural factor with consequences largely for the small college-educated minority in inner-city areas who are not really the target of policy concern.

Of course, observability arrangements do have some effect on participation in working class communities. An essential question would seem to be how much effect? Is it sufficient to warrant a major investment in this approach as a strategy for school reform? It is difficult to answer these questions on the basis of the Friedman data.

Other than the Friedman study, the only other data we have uncovered on the relationship between participation levels and school-provided opportunities for participation is Henry Acland's reanalysis of some of the British Plowden data. Acland's findings are consistent with Friedman's and provide additional support for the assumption that opportunities for participation may be more important than SES in determining levels of parent contact with school personnel. Acland found that participation levels were associated with school provision of arrangements for participation and that this relationship was unchanged by introducing controls for school SES.[83]

Unfortunately, here as in the Friedman study there is a problem of circularity in the way the measures were defined. Since according to Acland British parents tend not to put pressure on their schools,[84] the contact they would have with school personnel would generally be school-initiated. Under such conditions, it would be difficult to envision circumstances in which parent contact could be high in a school that was not rated high on school provision of participation opportunities.

Neither the Acland nor the Friedman data, then, provide clearcut support for the channels argument. Neither enables us to be certain of the direction of the relationship between channels and participation. And neither permits us to conclude that the increased participation that might be expected from provision of more participation channels would be of sufficient magnitude to warrant a major investment of energy in this approach to educational reform. However, these data cannot be dismissed. They do provide at least suggestive evidence that participation will respond to the availability of more channels for such participation as predicted in the decentralization/community control model.

If we accept the validity of this contention, can we also expect the outcome of such increased participation to be greater parental satisfaction with the schools? We consider this question in the next chapter.

CHAPTER X

CHANNELS, PARTICIPATION, AND SATISFACTION: AVAILABLE EVIDENCE AND NEEDED RESEARCH

It would seem useful at this point to retrace the argument we have been developing in the last few chapters. Most parents are highly satisfied with the schools their children attend. However, parents in low-income minority communities are more likely to be dissatisfied with the schools than parents in middle class or affluent white communities.

Of all the factors that account for parental satisfaction with schools, background variables are clearly the most critical. In searching for alterable variables that affect satisfaction and may be SES-related without being SES-determined, participation seemed the most likely workable basis for a reform strategy. We considered a good deal of highly suggestive evidence demonstrating that participation is strongly related to satisfaction and that participation levels reflect differential distributions of opportunities for participation. We noted the possibility that greater provision of arrangements that elicit and facilitate participation might produce higher levels of participation among even the least participatory segments of the population.

We considered this evidence in terms of the support it provided for the analogical argument. If arrangements that elicit and encourage participation are provided extensively in inner-city communities, then the favorable school-community conditions that characterize middle class and affluent white communities might be replicated in ghetto neighborhoods, with consequences as favorable as those assumed to follow from these conditions in the suburbs. And among these favorable conditions, the ones that appear to have the greatest possibility of being realized would seem to be higher levels of parent participation in school affairs and greater parental satisfaction with the schools.

However, while it is generally assumed that greater parental participation will transform schools into institutions that parents find more satisfying, we have also considered some evidence demonstrating that under some conditions greater participation may lead to greater dissatisfaction. We considered several such conditions: first, participation accompanied by a sense of low efficacy or little responsiveness; second, participation accompanied by anxiety (as in the social uneasiness felt by working class mothers participating in middle class settings); third, involvement that increases the participant's awareness of unsatisfying conditions (e.g., low achievement levels, overcrowding, or incongruence on preferred educational goals, teaching methods, or parent role); and fourth, token participation that creates a feeling that one is being toyed with or manipulated.

Considered together, all this evidence raises a number of significant questions. Even if we accept the validity of the argument that provision of more opportunities for participation will stimulate higher participation levels, for whom and under what conditions are these channels and the participation they elicit likely to lead to greater satisfaction with the schools? For whom and under what conditions are these channels and resultant participation likely to lead to greater dissatisfaction with the schools? And how much of a difference can be expected in satisfaction or dissatisfaction as a result of the channels or the resultant participation, separately or jointly? In the remainder of this chapter, we examine the available evidence on each of these questions.

CHANNELS AND PARTICIPATION LEADING TO GREATER SATISFACTION: FOR WHOM AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS?

Friedman's data provide the best available evidence on the relationships between channels, participation, and satisfaction.[1] Her data are consistent with most other research in showing that the overwhelming majority of parents (85%) are generally satisfied with the schools their children attend (52% very satisfied; 33% somewhat satisfied). However, unlike most other researchers, she found that family SES* had little effect on satisfaction with the schools. Family SES did have a conditional effect when considered along with community SES: in working class communities, college-educated mothers were significantly less satisfied with their children's schools than were noncollege mothers; in middle class communities, college and noncollege mothers were approximately equally satisfied. Again, as in Friedman's participation data, we are finding that college-educated mothers in working class communities are the critical group accounting for differences. Again, then, an individual attribute has been shown to be a factor of great importance.

How does this individual-SES effect compare to the influence of the structural property of availability of participation channels (in Friedman's terms, availability of observability arrangements)? Friedman's data indicate that observability does have some effect on satisfaction but that most of this effect is on the college mothers rather than the noncollege group. The satisfaction levels of noncollege mothers are little affected by either community SES or school observability arrangements. College mothers, in contrast, manifest high levels of satisfaction only in middle class communities and only in high observability schools (with community SES and school observability about equally important in accounting for satisfaction).

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*In Friedman's study, SES was operationalized as family's educational attainment, dichotomized as college-educated and non-college-educated. For more details, see Chapter IX, footnote 80.

Not only does the effect of channels on satisfaction appear to be limited to college mothers in working class communities, but there is apparently a further conditional restriction on the effect. Friedman's data indicate that a mother's general satisfaction with a school is highly related to her satisfaction with her child's academic performance.[2] Among the mothers who were not satisfied with their children's academic performance, there was still greater overall satisfaction with the school in a high observability setting than in a low observability setting. But among mothers who *were* satisfied with their child's academic performance, observability had no effect at all on general school satisfaction. Therefore, observability arrangements increase satisfaction only under a condition of dissatisfaction with your child's academic performance. Friedman refers to this as a "cooling out" effect: observability "cools out" or decreases dissatisfaction with a school that is rooted in dissatisfaction with your child's academic performance. The "cooling out" effect of observability is apparently restricted in scope, however. There is very little of the "cooling out" effect among noncollege mothers: it functions largely among the college-educated group. The effect of observability on satisfaction, then, is highly restricted: it is confined largely to college-educated mothers who are dissatisfied with their children's academic performance.

Perhaps channels have a direct effect on satisfaction only under these conditions, but what about the indirect effect of channels through increasing participation? In Chapter IX we considered findings from Friedman's and from Acland's research demonstrating that a school's provision of more channels for participation was related to higher levels of parent contact with the school. Can we expect satisfaction to increase, then, through the intervening effect of greater participation?

Friedman's data indicate that participation[3] alone has little effect on satisfaction with the school. However, participation and observability together have an even greater "cooling out" effect than observability alone. If a mother is satisfied with her child's academic performance, greater participation will have no more of an effect on her satisfaction with the school than did high observability. But if she is dissatisfied with her child's academic performance, then the joint "cooling out" effect of both observability and participation is significant.

What is the causal mechanism operating here? Why does observability or the combination of observability and participation affect satisfaction? Friedman theorized that the critical intervening variable here is greater knowledge of school personnel and practices and the manner in which this knowledge functions to reassure the parent that the school is doing everything possible to help her child achieve. Her data indicate that family educational level and school observability are about equally important in accounting for a mother's knowledge of the school's personnel and practices. However, observability arrangements appear to be particularly important for the noncollege mothers -- probably because the college mother has other sources of information she can rely on while the noncollege mother is more dependent on the school. There is much less of a gap between the knowledge levels of college and noncollege mothers in high observability than in low observability schools.[4] Therefore, Friedman argued, observability arrangements are important as a means of reaching the least knowledgeable parent segment.

In order for observability to produce increased knowledge, however, the mother must take advantage of the observability arrangements and increase her participation. The data indicate that participation is more important than observability in explaining knowledge levels. There is a spillover effect from observability, though: if participation levels are controlled in the analysis, knowledge is greater within each participation level under conditions of high observability than under conditions of low observability. Still, for the effect on knowledge to be sizeable, both high participation and high observability are required.

Even if all the hypothesized favorable effects are produced -- let us say that more channels produce higher participation levels which in turn lead to higher levels of parent knowledge of the schools -- can we expect the greater knowledge to affect satisfaction with the schools? Friedman's data indicate that knowledge alone has little effect on satisfaction for the sample as a whole. However, when the data are analyzed separately for college and noncollege mothers it becomes apparent that knowledge does affect the satisfaction of the college group.

Whatever the effect of knowledge on satisfaction, knowledge is less important than participation in explaining satisfaction, and knowledge and participation togehter have an even stronger effect than participation alone.

When all these pieces of information are combined, the data suggest that neither knowledge nor participation alone are sufficient to explain differentials in parental satisfaction; however, under specific conditions they function together to affect satisfaction, and do so differently for the college and noncollege groups. For the college mothers, greater participation alone had only a minimal effect on increasing satisfaction;

however, with participation controlled, within each participation level greater knowledge is associated with greater satisfaction. In short, for college mothers, the causal chain is: participation → knowledge → satisfaction. For the noncollege group, with participation controlled, within each participation level greater knowledge is associated with greater dissatisfaction; with knowledge controlled, within each knowledge level greater participation is associated with greater satisfaction. For the noncollege mother, then, more participation is associated with more knowledge, but knowledge is associated with dissatisfaction -- in short, participation → knowledge → dissatisfaction.

This latter finding for noncollege mothers resembles Cloward and Jones' evidence that in the Lower East Side neighborhood they studied participation was associated with dissatisfaction. They suggested from this finding that "school administrators must be prepared to deal with more negative attitudes toward the school if greater efforts are made to involve people in school activities."[5] Friedman, however, used her data to draw a somewhat different implication. In most instances, she argued, greater participation was associated with more satisfaction. This was especially true for "cooling out" the dissatisfaction of the mother who was unhappy with her child's academic performance, particularly for the high participation mothers in a high observability setting. The most dissatisfied mothers were those who were unhappy with their children's academic performance, were in low observability settings, and had low participation levels. (And these are indeed the conditions that would seem to characterize the position of large numbers of parents in inner-city communities.) She argued that transforming low observability settings into high observability settings would shift the most dissatisfied group of mothers into a category with a higher satisfaction level, with the higher satisfaction traceable to both the observability arrangements per se and the greater participation they stimulated. Friedman reached the following conclusion from this set of data:

> ...the non-college mother who participates in the system is somewhat less dissatisfied than her counterpart who has not been brought into the system. Since the positive relationship of contact to the satisfaction of the knowledgeable non-college mother (+14%) is slightly higher than the negative relationship of knowledge to the satisfaction of the involved one (-5%), a higher level of satisfaction among the school's less educated clientele may be expected by involving them in school affairs, than by limiting arrangements for such involvement.[6]

If we accept Friedman's interpretation, then provision of more channels that elicit participation should stimulate participation which should, in turn, lead to a net increase in overall satisfaction with the schools.

CHANNELS AND PARTICIPATION LEADING TO DISSATISFACTION: FOR WHOM AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS?

There is less hard evidence on how channels and participation might decrease rather than increase satisfaction. We have previously considered some of the speculation on this subject. For instance, a working class mother participating in a predominantly middle class setting might be uncomfortable and the consequent anxiety might intensify her dissatisfaction. Or, participation might make a mother more aware of conditions that she would find disagreeable -- poor achievement levels, overcrowding, incongruence between her preferences and patterns of school functioning.[7] And we have examined evidence on two potential sources of dissatisfaction that might materialize from new participatory channels and/or greater involvement: one study found participation unable to increase satisfaction when the channels available provided only token participation,[8] and a second study found participants with a low sense of efficacy to be highly dissatisfied.[9]

All this suggests that new channels and greater participation may lead to dissatisfaction in a setting where the participant perceives low responsiveness to his needs -- whether those needs are for procedural openness, for substantive responsiveness, for the psychological reassurance that the school is doing all it can for the parent's child, or for the psychological gratification that comes from involvement in a group with which one identifies.

One piece of data in Friedman's study suggests that the existence of channels alone does not insure satisfaction -- that in fact dissatisfaction with the way a particular channel operates may lead to greater dissatisfaction than absence of the channel altogether. When Friedman compared her data on satisfaction with the school's PTA to satisfaction with the school overall, she found that the better the job mothers thought the PTA was doing, the more likely they were to be very satisfied with the school in general. 71% of those rating the PTA as excellent were very satisfied with the school; 56% of those rating the PTA as good were very satisfied with the school; and only 36% of those rating the PTA as fair or poor were very satisfied with the school. In schools with no PTA, 46% of the mothers were very satisfied. Therefore, a mother was more likely to be very satisfied with a school that had no PTA than a school with a PTA she rated as only fair or poor.[10]

We would have liked to uncover more data on this point. But even in the absence of more data it seems plausible to assume that under unsatisfactory conditions neither new participatory channels nor greater participation -- nor the combined effect of the two -- can lead to higher levels of satisfaction. Whether participatory strategies will increase or decrease satisfaction, then, seems to be a highly complex matter, dependent on the attributes of both the population concerned and the conditions under which the strategies are implemented.

HOW SALIENT ARE CHANNELS AND/OR PARTICIPATION IN ACCOUNTING FOR SATISFACTION?

Whether the effect of new channels or greater participation is in the direction of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, is the magnitude of the effect great enough to have any meaningful impact on the way things are? In interpreting the social as opposed to the statistical significance of even such strong data as Friedman's, the limitations of these data become apparent. What is the social significance of a 9% increase in satisfaction for a particular group under particular conditions? How much increase in satisfaction can be expected from altering one factor relative to another? Which factor is likely to have the greatest effect, all other things being equal?

These questions are difficult to answer from the crosstabulation approach to data analysis employed by Friedman. Her study suggests most strongly that observability, participation, and knowledge can significantly affect parental satisfaction with the schools. Other studies, however, provide a rather different impression. And some of these have specifically addressed the questions: how salient are these variables to parents? and how significant are these variables relative to other variables as determinants or components of parental satisfaction with the schools?

Acland's reanalysis of the Plowden data, for instance, found that school provision of opportunities for participation was associated with greater parent participation, but had no significant overall effect on parents' attitudes toward the school and teachers. Acland speculated that perhaps this was because some parents liked what they saw and others did not, balancing out the effects on satisfaction or dissatisfaction.[11]

An equally plausible possibility is that such opportunities for participation were simply not salient to parents as of any great importance. Data from two Boston surveys suggested the limited salience of channels and participation. One of these studies asked parents to state specifically what they liked and disliked about their children's schools. Of the hundreds of open-ended responses to these questions, only 7% of the "likes" and only 5% of the "dislikes" had anything at all to do with "parent relations."[12] In the other Boston survey, Riley and Cohen found that the correlations between parent satisfaction with the schools and desire for more parent say in school decisionmaking was only .09 for whites and .26 for blacks.[13] Therefore, for whites more than 99% of the variability in satisfaction was explained by factors other than their attitudes about the role parents should play in school decisionmaking; for blacks, more than 93% of the variability was explained by other factors. Although desired parent say is clearly not precisely the same as channels for access or involvement in the more traditional participatory forms, still the data are suggestive and consistent with the other evidence we have been considering here. Even Friedman's data indicated that both observability and participation had limited salience: their effects were confined largely to college-educated mothers who were dissatisfied with their children's school performance.

The available data, then, pose a dilemma. Some of it strongly suggests that the channels/observability approach should provide a workable basis for increasing parental satisfaction with the schools. But other data raise significant questions about whether the magnitude of the increase in satisfaction to be expected from this approach is sufficient to warrant a major expenditure of energy in this direction. Available evidence is inadequate to permit us to judge how much of a gain we can expect from this strategy or how powerful it might be relative to other strategies. To answer these questions, new data are required.

NEEDED RESEARCH

Ideally, the information needed should be gathered from a policy experiment in which the channels variable is manipulated and measurements are made of such outcomes as participation levels and parent satisfaction. Such policy experiments, however, can be quite costly and time-consuming.

An alternative approach is possible using survey research techniques in quasi-experimental fashion. The natural range of variability on the channels variable can be used to approximate the different levels of school openness that one might have tried to establish as experimental treatments. The results are not likely to be as satisfactory as they would be in a true experiment. The naturally-occuring range of variability might not be as great as the range one would have established in a planned experiment. The types of channels occurring naturally might not be the types one would have created in an experiment. And those channels existing at present might not be completely appropriate for generalizing to the kinds of policy conclusions of interest to us. However, within these limitations, much can be learned from the data gathered by means of survey techniques, and such research should probably precede the design of costly policy experiments.

For the past four years, the author has been conducting survey research designed to provide some of the data needed to assess the validity of the channels argument and the participatory reform approach underlying the decentralization/community control strategy. The results of this work will be reported in the author's Ed.D. dissertation.

CONCLUSIONS

Our review of the decentralization/community control literature suggested that the approach described here represented a radical policy departure from educational reform strategies previously considered. We contended that the assumptions underlying the strategy were untested and in need of careful and rigorous research. And further, we argued that the research need was inadequately met by the few educational policy researchers who attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of the policy in operation or to use evidence from the social sciences and applied fields to assess the validity of the strategy's underlying assumptions.

We indicated the difficulties with which any researcher approaching these questions had to contend -- difficulties that were political, financial, and organizational in nature; others that were conceptual, methodological, or normative. We considered the host of significant questions raised by the decentralization/community control rationale and analyzed an extensive body of evidence from the social sciences and applied fields in an attempt to arrive at our own assessment of what can be said to be known at this point about each of these questions.

Little of what we uncovered could be viewed as encouraging by proponents of the decentralization/community control strategy. But then, neither could the available evidence be considered definitive. Our analysis of the data on many of these questions indicated that a considerable amount of additional theoretical and empirical work is needed before the kind of information needed for sound policy guidance can be forthcoming. And even where a substantial body of evidence was available, more often than not its appropriateness for application to judging the policy questions at hand seemed open to challenge.

The one set of claims for the decentralization/community control strategy that appeared to be most strongly supported by available evidence concerned parental satisfaction with the schools. Our analysis of several bodies of data relevant to these claims suggested several points. First, of all the factors that account for parental satisfaction with the schools, family SES is most significant. Second, increasing parent participation in school affairs in low-income communities may lead to an increase in satisfaction under favorable conditions; however, under unfavorable conditions the outcome may be the reverse. Third, school provision of more opportunities for parent participation may stimulate greater participation and in turn higher levels of parent satisfaction with the schools. However, it is by no means clear from the available data that the magnitude of the increase in satisfaction to be expected from a participation/channels apporach is sufficient to warrant a major investment in this as a strategy for school reform. To assess this, additional data are needed. And this is precisely the kind of information the author expects to provide from her dissertation research.

Decentralization and community control of schools and participatory reform in general are not the burning issues today that they were only a few years ago. Of continuing importance, however, are the approach to institutional reform embodied in these strategies and questions of how best to increase institutional responsiveness and make institutions more satisfying to their clients. And the entire subject remains, after nearly eight years, policy in search of a research agenda.

FOOTNOTES

PREFACE

1. For instance, see: Herbert J. Gans, "The Social Protest of the 1960's Takes the Form of the 'Equality' Revolution," New York Times Magazine, November 3, 1968, pp. 36-37 ff.; Nathan Glazer, "For White and Black, Community Control is the Issue," New York Times Magazine, April 27, 1969, pp. 36-37 ff.; Andrew Kopkind, "Are We in the Middle of a Revolution?" New York Times Magazine, November 10, 1968, pp. 55, 57 ff. Also see: Henry Raymont, "Professors Start a Journal for 'Participatory' Social Reform," New York Times, April 27, 1970; and issues of Social Policy, the journal described in Raymont's article (see especially the statement of the purpose and point of view of the journal that appears in several issues of Volume I); Francis Fox Piven (with comments by Sumner M. Rosen), "Whom Does the Advocate Planner Serve?" Social Policy, 1 (May/June 1970), pp. 32-37; Sherry R. Arnstein, Paul and Linda Davidoff, Clarence Funnye, Chester W. Hartman, Sylvia Scribner, and Francis Fox Piven, "Whom Does the Advocate Planner Serve?" Social Policy, 1 (July/August 1970), pp. 33-41; Stanley Aronowitz, "The Dialectic of Community Control," Social Policy, 1 (May/June 1970), pp. 47-51; Frank Riessman and Alan Gartner, "Community Control and Radical Social Change," Social Policy, 1 (May/June 1970), pp. 52-55; Ricardo Ontiveros, "Brown Power: Rebirth of the Chicanos," Social Policy, 1 (May/June 1970), pp. 64-65; Interview with Roy Innis, "Health and Community Control," Social Policy, 1 (May/June 1970), p. 68; Virginia Held, "Professional Reform or Participatory Democracy," Social Policy, 1 (July/August 1970), pp. 49-51; Maurice R. Berube (with reply by Stanley Aronowitz), "Social Change and the White Working Class," Social Policy, 1 (September/October 1970), pp. 38-41; David Kirp, "Has Organizing Survived the 1960's?" Social Policy, 3 (November/December 1972 and January/February 1973), pp. 44-49; The American Academy of Political and Social Science, issues of the Annals as follows: Protest in the Sixties, 382 (1969), and Students Protest, Philip G. Altbach and Robert S. Laufer, eds., 395 (1971); Adele Spier, "Parent and Student Grievance Machinery," Community, 3 (November 1970), pp. 3-4; Grace Lichtenstein, "Members Ask A Voice in H.I.P. Service," New York Times, February 20, 1972; John Sibley, "Community Leaders File Suit Against Health Planning Agency," New York Times, November 17, 1972; Leonard Buder, "Fleischmann Panel Urges Family Voice on Schools," New York Times, October 19, 1972; and "Urban Choices for '76," New York Times Editorial, November 28, 1972.

2. For instance, see: Jewel Bellush and Stephen M. David, eds., Race and Politics in New York City: Five Studies in Policy-Making (New York: Praeger, 1971); especially "Introduction: Pluralism, Race, and the Urban Political System," pp. 3-24; and Preston Wilcox, "Social Policy and White Racism," Social Policy, 1 (May/June 1970), pp. 41-46.

3. For instance, see: Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics (New York: Macmillan, 1972); also media coverage of the Forest Hills housing controversy of 1971-1972 and the Canarsie schools controversy of 1972.

4. Sidney Verba, "Democratic Participation," in Social Goals and Indicators for American Society, Vol. II (The Annals of the American

Academy of Political and Social Science, 373 (September 1967), p. 54.)

5. For references, see Chapter I, footnotes 2 and 3.

6. For descriptive accounts of the wide range of community control projects, see Marilyn Gittell, "The Community School in the Nation," *Community Issues*, 2 (February 1970) (New York: Queens College Institute for Community Studies, 1970); Tim Parsons, "Community Control Across the Nation," *Community*, 1 (February 1969); and Tim Parsons, "The Community School Movement," *Community Issues*, 2 (December 1970) (New York: Queens College Institute for Community Studies, 1970). (Future references to *Community Issues*, one of the two periodicals published by the Queens College Institute of Community Studies (ICS) from 1968-1971, will use conventional periodical format. They will not include repeated listing of the ICS as the publisher.)

7. As of 1970, cities other than New York that had implemented decentralization with substantial citizen participation were Detroit and, on a subsystem basis, Washington, D.C. Cities that had implemented administrative decentralization (system-wide, on a subsystem or pilot program basis) with some policy discretion in the hands of area administrators included: Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Seattle and St. Louis. Cities that had implemented administrative decentralization with little policy discretion in the hands of area administrators included: Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Houston, New Orleans, Portland, and San Antonio. Dade County (Miami), Florida and Minneapolis had also implemented administrative decentralization, but the amount of policy discretion permitted area administrators is not stated in our information source. Cities where system-wide decentralization is under consideration included: Albuquerque, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Dallas, Denver, Houston, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, and two cities already experimenting with decentralized components, i.e., San Francisco and Seattle. Cities that were using citizen advisory groups in addition to administrative decentralization included: Boston, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Seattle, and St. Louis. For sources of these data, see: Albert P. Cardarelli, *Decentralization and Community Control: A National Survey of the Public School Systems in the United States*, Expanded and revised version of paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, March 1970; and George R. LaNoue, *The Politics of School Decentralization*, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1970. In addition, decentralization legislation was being considered by the state legislatures of California, Massachusetts, and New Jersey in addition to the state legislation already passed in New York and Michigan. For sources on this legislation, see Chapter I, footnote 5. Community controlled schools inside public school systems other than the New York system existed in: Dayton, Ohio; East Palo Alto, California; East St. Louis, Illinois; Greeley, Colorado; Newark; Philadelphia; Pulaski County (Little Rock), Arkansas; and Washington, D.C. State school districts controlled by black residents included: Inkster, Michigan, and the Ravenswood School District in East Palo Alto, California. Community controlled schools outside public school systems included schools in: Boston; Chicago; Chinle, Arizona; New York;

Philadelphia; San Francisco; and Washington, D.C. For sources of information on these schools, see above, Preface, footnote 6. Although open public controversies did not precede all of these efforts to implement decentralization and community control, it seems clear from the available sources that open controversy preceded and accompanied many of these, and that they were more often than not responses to expressed public dissatisfaction with the schools, especially by non-white community leaders. See above sources and Wallace Roberts, "The Battle for Urban Schools," Saturday Review, 51 (November 16, 1968).

8. Among the other institutions which have become targets of demands for community control are: the police and fire departments; museums; libraries, hospitals; welfare agencies; and even Catholic parochial schools. For discussions of some of these, see the following articals in Community, 2 (March 1970), pp. 5-9; Mark Geier, "Community Control of the Museums"; Sheila C. Gordon, "Delivering Health Services for the Community"; and Maurice R. Berube, "Community Control and Catholic Education." (Future references to Community, one of the two periodicals published by the Queens College ICS from 1968-1971, will use conventional periodical format. They will not include repeated listing of the ICS as the publisher.)

9. For particularly good examples of this, see Charles E. Wilson, "201 - First Steps Toward Community Control," in Schools Against Children: The Case for Community Control, Annette T. Rubinstein, ed. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), pp. 211-227; and remarks made by Kenneth Clark reported in: Emanuel Perlmutter, "Decentralization of Schools Fails, Kenneth Clark Says," New York Times, May 8, 1971; and Francis X. Clines, "Clark Asks A Curb in Decentralizing," New York Times, November 30, 1972. For a Detroit example, see Remarks by A. Johnson, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Detroit, at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, 1972.

10. For instance, compare the more balanced tone of ICS 1971 publications such as Demonstration for Social Change: An Experiment in Local Control and School Decentralization and School Policy in New York City with most earlier ICS publications. For more complete information about these two particular publications, see later footnotes, especially Chapter I, footnotes 37 and 38.

11. For critiques of the roles played by social scientists in the 1960's and calls for more complex approaches to institutional and social change, see Daniel P. Moynihan, ed., On Understanding Poverty (New York: Basic Books, 1968), especially Daniel P. Moynihan, "The Professors and the Poor," pp. 3-35; Peter H. Rossi and Zahava D. Blum, "Class, Status, and Poverty," pp. 36-63; Herbert J. Gans, "Culture and Class in the Study of Poverty: An Approach to Anti-Poverty Research," pp. 201-228; Lee Rainwater, "The Problem of Lower-Class Culture and Poverty-War Strategy," pp. 229-259; and Walter Miller, "The Elimination of the American Lower Class as National Policy: A Critique of the Ideology of the Poverty Movement of the 1960s," pp. 260-315. Also see: Daniel P. Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty (New York: Free Press, 1969), especially Chapter VIII, "Social Science and Social

Policy," pp. 167-205; Marcia Guttentag, ed., The Poor: Impact on Research and Theory (Entire issue of Journal of Social Issues, 26 (Spring 1970); William Russell Ellis, Jr. and Peter Orleans, "Race Research: 'Up Against the Wall,' in More Ways Than One," in Race, Change, and Urban Society, Peter Orleans and William Russell Ellis, Jr., eds. (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971), pp. 9-20; Dale Rogers Marshall, "Public Participation and the Politics of Poverty," in ibid., pp. 451-482; and Harold Orlans, Contracting for Knowledge (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1973).

12. Decentralization of city services has been a key issue debated in the hearings before the City Charter Revision Commission. For instance, see: Francis X. Clines, "Decentralization Not Issue, But Means to Achieve It Is," New York Times, November 29, 1972; Francis X. Clines, "Clark Asks A Curb in Decentralizing," New York Times, November 30, 1972; Michael Knight, "School-Decentralization Backers Dismayed by Clark's Criticism," New York Times, December 1, 1972; and Francis X. Clines, "City Charter Commission Told Decentralization Fails Uptown," New York Times, December 12, 1972. Also see: Leonard Buder, "Fleischmann Panel Urges Family Voice on Schools," New York Times, October 19, 1972; Murray Schumach, "Moynihan Urges Power to Levy Taxes be Granted to Communities in the City," New York Times, February 13, 1973; and Peter Freiberg, "Neighborhood Power and Local Liberty," New York Post, March 27, 1973.

13. For instance, see: Mary Breasted, "Acrimony Marks Campaign in Fuentes School District," New York Times, April 4, 1973; Mary Breasted, "Anger and Confusion Pervade School Board-Petition Hearing," New York Times, April 12, 1973; Mary Breasted, "'Ideal' Queens School District is Torn by Dissent as Board Election Nears," New York Times, April 19, 1973; Mary Breasted, "School Elections More Politicized," New York Times, April 29, 1973; Leonard Buder, "Canarsie School Vote Hotly Contested," New York Times, April 15, 1973; Leonard Buder, "District 18 School Feud Flares Up," New York Times, April 24, 1973; and Ronald Smothers, "School Board Campaign in Brooklyn Sparks Battle," New York Times, April 25, 1973.

14. In New York City, this has been most notable in the recent Forest Hills scatter-site housing controversy and the Canarsie school controversy. Both have been extensively reported in the pages of the New York Times as well as the New York Post and the New York Daily News. For two particularly interesting statements of this position, see two letters to the editor of the New York Times: Letter from Jay A. Hershberg, New York Times, November 3, 1972; and Letter from Congressman Hugh L. Carey, New York Times, November 11, 1972.

15. For references, see Chapter I, footnotes 2 - 6 and 8.

16. Acknowledgement of the importance of the issues revolving around citizen participation is provided, for instance, in the R & D planning document prepared by the NIE Planning Unit. See: A Research and Development Agenda for the National Institute of Education (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, April 15, 1972), mimeo, pp. 60-79.

17. For a perceptive analysis of this issue as reflecting the need for an accommodation to cultural pluralism in America, see Leonard J. Fein, "Community Schools and Social Theory: The Limits of Universalism," in Community Control of Schools, Henry M. Levin, ed. (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution and New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), pp. 76-99; and a book-length treatment of this argument in Leonard J. Fein, The Ecology of the Public Schools: An Inquiry into Community Control (New York: Pegasus, 1971).

18. Follow-Through research beginning in 1968-1969 can be considered a prototype of a planned variation study. The New Jersey negative income tax experiment can be considered the prototype for a policy experiment. For a discussion of these approaches, see Joseph S. Wholey, John W. Scanlon, Hugh G. Duffy, James S. Fukumoto, and Leona M. Vogt, Federal Evaluation Policy: Analyzing the Effects of Public Programs (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1970), pp. 100-101. For discussions of the difficulties encountered in the Follow-Through research and its limitations as a model of the planned policy experiment, see: David K. Cohen, "Politics and Research: Evaluation of Social Action Programs in Education," Review of Educational Research 40 (April 1970), pp. 226-232; and Alice M. Rivlin, Systematic Thinking for Social Action (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1971), pp. 102-106.

PART I

1. The ICS received Ford Foundation funds during the three-year New York City experiment to perform three functions: "serving as a channel for funds to the experimental school districts in New York City; providing technical services that these districts would normally require ... such as financial, legal, public relations and like expertise; and researching and recording these experiments." Community, 1 (December 1, 1968), p. 1.

CHAPTER I

1. Neither this category scheme nor the literature review is intended as a comprehensive treatment of the entire literature. Our presentation of the literature is intentionally selective. We have dealt with only those writings that shed light on the fundamental assumptions about these strategies in need of research, or are otherwise valuable for providing insight into the political climate in which these strategies were implemented. For instance, we have not considered here articles about the mechanics or details of financing or instituting these strategies, such as two articles in Community Control of Schools, Levin, ed., op. cit.; H. Thomas James and Henry M. Levin, "Financing Community Schools," pp. 250-274; and Michael H. Moskow and Kenneth McLennan, "Teacher Negotiations and School Decentralization," pp. 191-215.

   For available bibliographies on decentralization and community control, see: Dorothy Christiansen, "Decentralization Bibliography" (New York: Center for Urban Education, April 1968), ERIC Document #ED 025 575; Dorothy Christiansen, "Decentralization Bibliography II" (New York: Center for Urban Education, April 1969), ERIC Document #ED 002 228; New York Librarians Roundtable on Social Responsibilities of Libraries, "Continuing Bibliography on Decentralization," Parts I and II (New York: Brooklyn College Library, 1968); "Selected Bibliography on Decentralization," IRCD Bulletin, 4-5 (November 1968 - January 1969), pp. 17-18; and "Bibliography on School Decentralization and Community Control," Community Issues, 2 (June 1970).

   Different sections of a given book or article may fall into more than one category. For instance, historical overviews are included in several of the project descriptions, advocacy articles, and systematic, non-historical research reports. Classifying individual pieces of writing seems less important than analyzing the kinds of information provided in the literature as a whole. Our footnote citations should make clear the extent to which individual publications fit one or more categories.

2. The most comprehensive available treatments of events are: Confrontation at Ocean Hill-Brownsville: The New York School Strikes of 1968. Maurice R. Berube and Marilyn Gittell, eds. (New York: Praeger, 1969); Richard Karp, "School Decentralization in New York: A Case Study," Interplay, 2 (August-September 1968), pp. 9-14; Eugenia Kemble, New

York's Experiments in School Decentralization: A Look at Three Projects (New York: United Federation of Teachers, Reprinted from issues of the United Teacher, November 8, 1967, November 22, 1967, December 20, 1967, and January 24, 1968); Naomi Levine, with Richard Cohen, Ocean Hill-Brownsville: Schools in Crisis - A Case History (New York: Popular Library, 1969); Martin Mayer, "The Full and Sometimes Very Surprising Story of Ocean Hill, the Teachers' Union and the Teachers Strikes of 1968," New York Times Magazine, February 2, 1969 [also published in expanded form as: Martin Mayer, The Teachers Strike: New York, 1968 (New York: Harper and Row, 1969)]; New York Civil Liberties Union, The Burden of Blame: A Report on the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School Controversy (New York: NYCLU, October 9, 1968); and Advisory Committee on Decentralization (John H. Niemeyer, Lillian Ashe, Charles R. DeCarlo, James Marshall, Frederick O'Neal, and Celia Vice), Final Report of the Advisory Committee on Decentralization (New York: Board of Education, July 30, 1968), Bert E. Swanson, Executive Director (henceforth referred to as Niemeyer et al., Final Report). On events in the 1966-1967 I.S. 201 controversy specifically, see: "A Summary of the Controversy at I.S. 201," IRCD Bulletin, 2-3 (Winter 1966-1967); G. S. Goldberg, "I.S. 201: An Educational Landmark," IRCD Bulletin, 2-3 (Winter 1966-1967); Dorothy S. Jones, "The Issues at I.S. 201: A View from the Parents' Committee," Integrated Education, 4 (October-November 1966); Jeremy Larner, "I.S. 201: Disaster in the Schools," Dissent, 14 (January-February 1967); Thomas K. Minter, Intermediate School 201, Manhattan: Center of Controversy - A Case Study (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1967); United Teacher, 8 (October 1966), Special Issue on I.S. 201 Controversy; and Miriam Wasserman, "The I.S. 201 Story: One Observer's Version," Urban Review, 3 (June 1969). For historical overviews of these events in publications concerned with other questions, see: Joseph M. Cronin, The Control of Urban Schools: Perspectives on the Power of Educational Reformers (New York: Free Press, 1973), pp. 183-197; Mario Fantini, Marilyn Gittell, and Richard Magat, Community Control and the Urban School (New York: Praeger, 1970), pp. 100-172; Mario D. Fantini and Richard Magat, "Decentralizing Urban School Systems," in The Schoolhouse in the City, Alvin Toffler, ed. (New York: Praeger, 1968), pp. 110-135; Marilyn Gittell, "Community Control of Education," in Urban Riots: Violence and Social Change, Robert H. Connery, ed. (New York: Vintage, 1968), pp. 66-71. [This article was republished in revised and expanded form as Marilyn Gittell, "Community Control of Education," in The Politics of Urban Education, Marilyn Gittell and Alan G. Hevesi, eds. (New York: Praeger, 1969). However, future references will be to the original article only]; Marilyn Gittell, "Urban School Reform in the 1970's," Education and Urban Society, 1 (November 1968) [also reprinted in Confrontation at Ocean Hill-Brownsville, Berube and Gittell, eds., op. cit., but subsequent citations will refer only to the original article]; Marilyn Gittell, "Urban School Politics: Professionalism vs. Reform," Journal of Social Issues, 26 (Summer 1970), pp. 77-82; Marilyn Gittell, "Education: The Decentralization-Community Control Controversy," in Race and Politics in New York City: Five Studies in Policy-Making, Jewel Bellush and Stephen M. David, eds. (New York: Praeger, 1971), pp. 146-160; LaNoue, The Politics of School Decentralization (APSA), op. cit., pp. 18A-20; George R. LaNoue, The Politics of Community Control, Presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, February 1971; George R. LaNoue and Bruce L. R. Smith, The Politics of School Decentralization: A Preliminary Report on the Research Project (New York: Center for Urban Education, 1969), mimeo, pp. 37-39 [Presumably, this report and the papers presented at the APSA and AERA meetings are early versions of the forthcoming book: George R. LaNoue and Bruce L. R. Smith, The Politics of School Decentralization (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, D. C. Heath and Co., forthcoming)]; Parsons, "Community School Movement," op. cit.; David Rogers, 110 Livingston Street: Politics and Bureaucracy in the New York City School System (New York: Random House, 1968), pp. 475-486; Adele Spier, "Two Bridges Model School District: A Profile," Community Issues, 1 (February 1969); Why Teachers Strike: Teachers' Rights and Community Control, Melvin Urofsky, ed. (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1970), especially pp. 2-47; Miriam Wasserman, The School Fix, NYC, USA (New York: Outerbridge and Dienstfrey, 1970), pp. 185-386; and Carol Wielk, "The Ocean Hill-Brownsville School Project: A Profile," Community Issues, 1 (February 1969). Also see references cited below in Chapter I, footnote 5.

3. The number of articles of this type is so extensive that we have listed them separately as Appendix A.

4. See relevant articles in Appendix A; in Chapter I, footnote 5 below; and the following. On several cities, see: LaNoue, The Politics of Community Control, op. cit.; LaNoue, The Politics of School Decentralization (APSA), op. cit., pp. 26-44; LaNoue and Smith, The Politics of School Decentralization: Preliminary Report, op. cit., pp. 39-105; LaNoue and Smith, The Politics of School Decentralization (forthcoming), op. cit.; Cronin, Control of Urban Schools, op. cit., pp. 181-251; and Parsons, "Community School Movement," op cit. Specifically on Detroit, see: William R. Grant, "Community Control vs. Integration - The Case of Detroit," Public Interest, #24 (Summer 1971), pp. 62-79; William R. Grant, Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, 1972; A. Johnson, Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, 1972; Charles H. Moore and Ray E. Johnson, "School Decentralization, Community Control, and the Politics of Public Education," Urban Affairs Quarterly, 6 (June 1971), pp. 421-446; and Vernon Sullivan, "From Detroit: The Schools Mess - Where Do We Stand?" Community, 2 (Spring/Summer 1970), pp. 4-6. On Washington, D.C., see Sheila Gordon, "School Decentralization in Washington: Grounds for Optimism," Community, 1 (December 1, 1968), pp. 2-3; and on the Adams-Morgan/Morgan School Project in Washington, D.C., see: Sol Gordon and Doris Kassin, The Morgan School, Washington, D.C. (New York: Center for Urban Education, 1971); Susan L. Jacoby, "The Making of a Community School," Urban Review, 2 (February 1968); Paul Lauter, "The Short, Happy Life of the Adams-Morgan Community School Project," Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Spring 1968); and Phyllis Myers, "Schools: Morgan's Tentative Revolution," Urban America (November-December 1968).

5. On particular projects and citywide controversies, see references cited above in footnotes 2, 3, and 4. On state-level legislative politicking, see: M. A. Farber, "Ford Fund Aids State-Backed Private School System in Boston," *New York Times*, September 4, 1968; Mark Geier, "Decentralization Legislation," *Community*, 2 (March 1970), p. 6; Marilyn Gittell, "New York City School Decentralization," *Community*, 1 (May 1969), pp. 1-2; Marilyn Gittell, "School Decentralization Today," *Community*, 3 (November 1971), pp. 1-3; Richard K. Scher, "Decentralization and the New York State Legislature," *Urban Review*, 4 (September 1969); and "Urban School Decentralization in the Nation," *Community*, 1 (March - April 1969), p. 1.

6. Especially see: New York Civil Liberties Union, "Burden of Blame," *op. cit.*, and compare to: Sandra Feldman, *The Burden of Blame-Placing* (New York: UFT, 1968); Maurice Goldbloom, *A Critique of the New York Civil Liberties Union Report on the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School Controversy* (New York: Ad Hoc Committee to Defend the Right to Teach, 1968); and Adolph Stone, "A Criticism of the New York Civil Liberties Union Report on the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School Controversy" (The Combined Action Committee, CSA-UFT, District 1, November 1968) [reprinted in Gittell and Hevesi, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-362]. Also see: Mayer, "The Full and Sometimes Very Surprising Story of Ocean Hill," *op. cit.*; and Mayer, *The Teachers Strike*, *op. cit.*; and compare these to published letters in response to the article and reviews of the book, especially: exchanges of letters printed in *Amsterdam News*, March 1, 1969, March 8, 1969; *Commentary*, 47 (April 1969); *Commonweal*, February 21, 1969; *New York Review of Books*, January 16, 1969, April 10, 1969; *New York Times Magazine*, February 23, 1969; and such book reviews as those by Maurice Berube in *Commonweal*, May 1969; Jason Epstein, "The Real McCoy," *New York Review of Books*, 12 (March 13, 1969); Marilyn Gittell in *Saturday Review*, March 19, 1969; and *Phi Delta Kappan*, April 1969. Also see: Fred Ferreti, "Who's to Blame in the School Strike?" *New York*, 1 (November 18, 1968); Nat Hentoff, "Ad Hoc Committee on Confusion," *Village Voice*, September 26, 1968; Nat Hentoff, "Filling in the Paper of Record," *Village Voice*, October 17, 1968; I. F. Stone, "The Mason-Dixon Line Moves to New York," *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, 16 (November 4, 1968); and the following exchanges of letters: between Maurice R. Berube and Sandra Feldman in *Commonweal*, 89 (December 3, 1968); and between Michael Harrington and Dwight McDonald in *New York Review of Books*, 11 (December 5, 1968), 12 (January 2, 1969), and 12 (January 16, 1969).

7. The one article written by a historian is: Michael B. Katz, "The Present Moment in Educational Reform," *Harvard Educational Review*, 41 (August 1971), pp. 342-359. However, this article does not present any historical details about current reforms such as decentralization and community control. Rather, it is an interpretive commentary that points to several different kinds of reform developments prominent on the education scene in the past decade or so, underscores certain themes in these reforms, and then suggests certain inconsistencies in "the" reform "movement" because of the somewhat disparate reform directions inherent in the different developments.

8. Especially see: Marilyn Gittell, "The Balance of Power and the Community School," in Community Control of Schools, Levin, ed., op. cit., pp. 115-137; Gittell, "Urban School Politics: Professionalism vs. Reform," op. cit.; Gittell, "Education: The Decentralization-Community Control Controversy," op. cit.; LaNoue, The Politics of School Decentralization (APSA), op. cit.; LaNoue and Smith, The Politics of School Decentralization: Preliminary Report, op. cit.; Minter, op. cit.; and Wasserman, School Fix, op. cit.

9. Almost all the writings of Mario Fantino and Marilyn Gittell present the case, but especially note the following: Mario Fantini, "Alternatives for Urban School Reform," Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Winter 1968), pp. 160-175; Mario Fantini, "Community Participation," in Gittel and Hevesi, op. cit., pp. 323-337; Mario D. Fantini, "Community Control and Quality Education in Urban School Systems," in Community Control of Schools, Levin, ed., op. cit., pp. 40-75; Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, op. cit.; Marilyn Gittell, "Decision-Making in the Schools: New York City, A Case Study," in Educating an Urban Population, Marilyn Gittell, ed. (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1967), pp. 205-239; Marilyn Gittell, "Professionalism and Public Participation in Educational Policy-Making: New York City, A Case Study," Public Administration Review, 27 (September 1967), pp. 237-251 [reprinted in Gittell and Hevesi, op. cit., pp. 155-177]; Gittell, "Community Control of Education," op. cit.; Gittell, "Urban School Reform in the 1970's," op. cit. [reprinted in Confrontation at Ocean Hill-Brownsville, Berube and Gittell, eds., op. cit., pp. 327-334]; Gittell, "Urban School Politics: Professionalism vs. Reform," op. cit.; Gittell, "The Balance of Power and the Community School," op. cit.; Marilyn Gittell, "The Community and Its Schools," in Schools Against Children: The Case for Community Control, Annette T. Rubinstein, ed. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), pp. 247-266; Gittell, "Education: The Decentralization-Community Control Controversy," op. cit.; and Gittell and Hevesi, op. cit. Also see the articles in Schools Against Children, Rubenstein, ed., op. cit.; and Community Control of Schools, Levin, ed., op. cit.; and see the case presented in the Mayor's Advisory Panel on Decentralization of the New York City Schools, Reconnection for Learning: A Community School System for New York City (The Bundy Report) (New York: Mayor's Office, November 1967); and Wasserman, School Fix, op. cit. Also see below, Chapter I, footnote 11.

10. For instance, various versions of the same piece have been published as: Fantini, "Alternatives for Urban School Reform," op. cit.; Fantini, "Community Control and Quality Education in Urban School Systems," op. cit.; and as a part of Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, op. cit. Similarly, two versions of another piece have appeared as: Fantini and Magat, op. cit.; and in Fantini, Gittell and Magat, op. cit. Much the same is true of Marilyn Gittell's articles. Similar summaries of the findings of Gittell, Participants and Participation, op. cit. have appeared as: Gittell, "Decision-Making in the Schools: New York City, A Case Study," op. cit.; and Gittell, "Professionalism and Public Participation in Educational Policy-Making: New York City, A Case Study," op. cit.; and the latter was reprinted in Gittell and Hevesi, op. cit. Also, Gittell, "Urban School Reform in the 1970's," op. cit. was published

once and then reprinted in *Confrontation at Ocean Hill-Brownsville*, Berube and Gittell, eds., *op. cit*. Gittell, "Community Control of Education," *op. cit*. was published twice. Gittell, "The Community School in the Nation," appears in another version in Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, *op. cit*. Other Gittell articles cited above in Chapter I, footnote 9 are largely recombinations and revisions of material from these other pieces.

11. Maurice R. Berube, "Educational Achievement and Community Control," *Community Issues*, 1 (November 1, 1968), pp. 3-12. For another, almost identical version of this article, see: Maurice R. Berube, "Community Control: Key to Educational Achievement," *Social Policy*, 1 (July/August 1970), pp. 42-45. A second review of the literature is: Carol Lopate, Erwin Flaxman, Effie M. Bynum, and Edmund W. Gordon, "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," *Review of Educational Research*, 40 (February 1970), pp. 135-150. For an earlier, almost identical version of this article, see, Carol Lopate, Erwin Flaxman, Effie M. Bynum, and Edmund W. Gordon, "Some Effects of Parent and Community Participation on Public Education," (February 1969), ERIC Document #ED 027 359.

12. For instance, note the following statements from Berube, *Educational Achievement and Community Control*, *op. cit*.: "Current educational research points to a radical restructuring of big city school systems as *the only relevant means* of affecting the quality of education." (p. 1) "...Coleman discovered that the secret to learning lay with student attitudes ... a pupil's attitude ... was not only the most important of the various elements studied, but...." (p. 1) "Essentially, then, schools will *best* help children learn when they strengthen pupils' feelings of control over their destinies." (p. 2) "Next to a pupil's attitude, the *most potent* educational ingredient is the attitude of the teacher." (p. 2) "Whether a pupil feels his efforts can influence and control his future -- feelings of identity and self-worth -- emerges as the prime learning factor." (p. 12) [We have added the underlying emphasis in all the above.] Although Lopate *et al*., "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," *op. cit*. is generally a more carefully worded review, even this review lacks any criticism of the methodological soundness of the studies considered or the authors' inferences or conclusions. For instance, in discussing the Cloward and Jones study of Lower East Side New York parents, no question is raised about the direction of the relationship between parent participation and positive attitudes toward the schools, although even Cloward and Jones acknowledged that either direction of the relationship was possible. (p. 144) Or note the authors' speculation about the implications of the following: "Educational research indicates that when parents of school children are involved in the process of education, their children are likely to achieve better." (p. 148) The authors do not discuss the possibility that this relationship may in fact be due to self-selection or to socioeconomic status.

13. Burton Zwiebach, "Democratic Theory and Community Control," *Community Issues*, 1 (March 1969).

14. Charles V. Hamilton, "Race and Education: A Search for Legitimacy," *Harvard Educational Review*, 38 (Fall 1968), pp. 669-684. For a similar statement of this argument, see Charles V. Hamilton, "Education in the Black Community: An Examination of the Realities," *Freedomways*, 8 (Fall 1968), pp. 320-324. Also see: Stokeley Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Random House, 1967), pp. 166-171; Robert C. Maynard, "Black Nationalism and Community Schools," in *Community Control of Schools*, Henry M. Levin, ed. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), pp. 100-111; and Preston R. Wilcox, "The Community-Centered School," in *The Schoolhouse in the City*, Alvin Toffler, ed. (New York: Praeger, 1969), pp. 97-109; Milton A. Galamison, "Educational Values and Community Power," *Freedomways*, 8 (Fall 1968), pp. 311-318; Ruth Tretten, "Black Power and Education," *School and Society*, 96 (November 23, 1968), pp. 428-430; Donald C. Weaver, "Community Education - A Cultural Imperative," *The Community School and Its Administration*, 7 (January 1969), pp. 1-4; and Five State Organizing Committee for Community Control, "Position Paper," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 49 (April 1968).

15. Fein, "Community Schools and Social Theory," *op. cit*.; and Fein, *Ecology of Public Schools*, *op. cit*.

16. For instance, Carol Wielk and Adele Spier of the ICS staff served as participant observers in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville and Two Bridges projects, respectively, and also wrote the descriptions of these projects published by the ICS in *Community* and *Community Issues*. Tim Parsons' use of site visits and interviews is indicated in the acknowledgements and footnotes in Parsons, *Community School Movement*, *op. cit*.

17. Participant observations and elite interviewing were the main approaches used in the two most extensive pieces of empirical research on community control and decentralization produced by the ICS. For descriptions of these publications, see below, especially Chapter I, footnotes 37 and 38. For discussions of this methodology, see: Marilyn Gittell, with Maurice Berube, Frances Gottfried, Marcia Guttentag, and Adele Spier, *Demonstration for Social Change: An Experiment in Local Control* (New York: Queens College Institute for Community Studies, 1971), pp. 2-4; and Marilyn Gittell, with Maurice R. Berube, Boulton H. Demas, Daniel Flavin, Mark Rosentraub, Adele Spier, and David Tatge, *School Boards and School Policy: An Evaluation of Decentralization in New York City* (New York: Praeger, 1973), Introduction.

18. See: Gittell, "The Community School in the Nation," *op.cit*.; Parsons, "Community Control Across the Nation," *op. cit*.; and Parsons, "Community School Movement," *op. cit*. On the I.S. 201 project in particular, see: F. Gottfried, "I.S. 201: A New Look at Black History," *Community*, 2 (Spring/Summer 1970), p. 6; "I.S. 201," *Community*, 1 (December 1, 1968), p. 8; and "I.S. 201," *Community*, 1 (January 1969), p. 6. On Ocean Hill-Brownsville, see M. Berube, "The Bereiter-Engelmann Method in Ocean Hill-Brownsville," *Community*, 1 (December 1, 1968), pp. 4-5; "Bilingual Program in Ocean [illegible] *Community*, 1 (January 1969), p. 5; Wielk, "The Ocean Hill-[illegible]ville School

Project: A Profile," op. cit.; and Carol Wielk, "Educational Progress at Ocean Hill," Community, 1 (May 1969), p. 3. On Two Bridges, see: Spier, "Two Bridges Model School District: A Profile," op. cit.; Adele Spier, "Why Two Bridges Failed," Community, 3 (September/October 1970), pp. 1-3; "Two Bridges," Community, 1 (December 1, 1968), p. 8; and "Two Bridges," Community, 1 (January 1969), p. 6. On the Morgan School, see: Sheila Gordon, "Climate for Learning: The Morgan Community School," Community, 1 (January 1969), pp. 4-5. For project descriptions in sources other than Community and Community Issues, see: Gordon and Kassin, op. cit.; Jacoby, op. cit.; Lauter, op. cit.; and Myers, op. cit.

19. Marilyn Gittell, Participants and Participation: A Study of School Policy in New York City (New York: Praeger, 1967).

20. Rogers, 110 Livingston Street, op. cit.

21. Lois S. Steinberg, Some Structural Determinants of Citizen Participation in Educational Policy-Making in Suburbia, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, February 1971, ERIC Document #ED 046 841; Lois S. Steinberg, Parent Resistance to Educational Innovations, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, April 1972, ERIC Document #ED 063 642; Lois S. Steinberg, The Revival of Local Control in Suburbia, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, February 1973.

22. Cardarelli, op. cit. The bulk of this paper presents the city-by-city results of a survey of 58 large-city (population over 200,000) school system superintendents on their present steps toward, and future plans for, decentralization. (It also includes an historical overview of events in New York City, bust some of this is erroneous.) For discussion of the correlates of decentralization, see pp. 87-108.

23. LaNoue, Politics of School Decentralization (APSA), op. cit.; LaNoue, Politics of Community Control, op. cit.; LaNoue and Smith, Politics of School Decentralization: Preliminary Report, op. cit.; LaNoue and Smith, Politics of School Decentralization (forthcoming), op. cit. A sample of 28 large cities (population over 500,000) was considered. Eight of these were found to have decentralized components. The bulk of the material in the above papers presents case studies of the politics of decentralization in these eight cities. The correlational data is presented in: Politics of School Decentralization (APSA), pp. 10-18; and in LaNoue and Smith, Politics of School Decentralization: Preliminary Report, op. cit., pp. 14-32.

24. Cardarelli found the correlates of decentralization to be: a large number of schools in the system; a large number of students (more than 100,000, but there were two exceptions here); a large city population; a large proportion of minority group citizens in the city population (more than 25% except for the South where this factor did not operate); and a large proportion of minority group students in the school population (more than 50%). Cardarelli's data are in the form of crosstabulations rather than correlations, but the

relationships are clear even if the strength of a given relationship is not provided.

The correlates of decentralization reported by LaNoue and by LaNoue and Smith are the following: large size of city and student populations; and large size of nonwhite population in the city and the school system (*percentage* of nonwhites is not as important as *number* of nonwhites, again simply reflecting the importance of city size). The data are reported in the form of correlation coefficients.

25. For instance, hypothesized correlates of decentralization *not* confirmed by the data included the following: number or percentage of nonwhite teachers in the school system; degree of student, faculty, or residential segregation; dropout rate or nonwhite dropout rate; and per capita vandalism rate.

26. Temporary Commission on City Finances, City of New York, *Governing the Public Schools: Educational Decision-Making and Its Financial Implications in New York City* (New York: The Commission, August 1966). Staff Paper No. 9. Marilyn Gittell, Education Consultant. T. Edward Hollander, Education Studies Director.

27. Niemeyer *et al.*, *Final Report*, *op. cit.*

28. Boulton H. Demas, *The School Elections: A Critique of the 1969 New York City School Decentralization* (New York: Queens College Institute for Community Studies, 1971).

29. Marilyn Gittell with Maurice R. Berube, Boulton H. Demas, Daniel Flavin, Frances Gottfried, Rhoda Karpatkin, Odarkor Lawson, Mark Rosentraub, Adele Spier, and David Tatge, *School Decentralization and School Policy in New York City* (New York: Queens College Institute for Community Studies, October 1971). A Report for the New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education. For reference to a recent, commercially published revision and expansion of this report, see below, Chapter I, footnote 38.

30. See: Richard Schwartz and Ellen Saxl, *Beginning Reading and Math in P.S. 133* (New York: Center for Urban Education, 1970), pp. 36-38, 42-44; Gordon and Kassin, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-46; Melvin Zimet, *Decentralization and School Effectiveness: The Impact of the 1969 Decentralization Law on a Community School District*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University Graduate School of Business Administration, 1972; and Gittell *et al.*, *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-115. Changes in student achievement data over time are also discussed in: Diane Ravitch, "Community Control Revisited," *Commentary*, 53 (February 1972), pp. 69-74.

31. Zimet, *op. cit.*; and Parsons, "Community School Movement," *op. cit.*

32. Gittell *et al.*, *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit.*, Chapter V, pp. 116-127. [This study was conducted by Marcia Guttentag.]

33. Demas, op. cit; Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., Chapter II, pp. 28-50. Questionnaires were mailed out to school board candidates by the Public Education Association, and compiled by the PEA and League of Women Voters. These data were used by Demas in the two sources cited above.

34. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit.; Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit.; and Marilyn Gittell and T. Edward Hollander, Six Urban School Districts: A Comparative Study of Institutional Response (New York: Praeger, 1968). The exploratory attempt to combine the case study and hypothesis testing approaches is the Gittell and Hollander volume.

35. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit.; Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit.; Demas, op. cit.; United Parents Association, "Analysis of Elections for Community School Boards," U.P.A. Newsletter (April 6, 1970); Maurice R. Berube, "School Elections: Analysis and Interpretation," Community, 2 (April 1970), pp. 1-6; Niemeyer et al., Final Report, op. cit., Chapter III, pp. 16, 18; and Frances Gottfried, "A Survey of Parental Views of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Experiment," Community Issues, 2 (October 1970).

36. Niemeyer et al., Final Report, op. cit., Chapter IV, "The 'Demonstration Project' Parents Assess Their Schools"; Bert E. Swanson, Edith Cortin, and Eleanor Main, "Parents in Search of Community Influence in the Public Schools," Education and Urban Society (August 1969), pp. 383-403; Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," op. cit.; Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op cit., Chapter II, pp. 44-65; and Richard L. Andrews and Ernest G. S. Noack, The Satisfaction of Parents with their Community Schools as a Measure of Effectiveness of the Decentralization of a School System, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, February 1971.

37. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit. This report brings together all the ICS data on the three New York City demonstration projects. It presents the ICS findings on: the kinds of people recruited to serve on the district governing boards; participation in the governing board elections; perceptions of governing board members of their roles and experiences; impact of the project on this elite group themselves, curriculum and personnel policies, school climate, student achievement, student attitudes, community participation, and parent attitudes. This report was republished commercially as: Marilyn Gittell, with Maurice R. Berube, Frances Gottfried, Marcia Guttentag, and Adele Spier, Local Control in Education: Three Demonstration School Districts in New York City (New York: Praeger, 1972). The Praeger volume is page for page precisely the same as the earlier ICS volume. We will therefore cite only the ICS publication in future references. It should be understood that precisely the same citations refer to the Praeger volume.

38. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit. This report presents an evaluative analysis of the functioning of the

Interim Board of Education under the 1969 Decentralization Act, the kinds of people recruited to posts on the Board, the amount and kinds of changes brought by the new system; the results of the 1970 community school board elections and how these were determined somewhat by the mechanisms built into the law; and the impact of the new boards and system on community participation, curriculum personnel, and student policies, the school system budget, and school construction. A new publication that came to our attention after this manuscript was written appears to be a more polished version of the above, published commercially as: Marilyn Gittell, with Maurice R. Berube, Boulton H. Demas, Daniel Flavin, Mark Rosentraub, Adele Spier, and David Tatge, School Boards and School Policy: An Evaluation of Decentralization in New York City (New York: Praeger, 1973). We will not be referring to this book in this draft of our manuscript.

39. David K. Cohen, "The Price of Community Control," Commentary, 48 (July 1969), pp. 23-32.

40. Alan A. Altshuler, Community Control: The Black Demand for Participation in Large American Cities (New York: Pegasus, 1970).

41. Altshuler must be considered a community control advocate rather than a neutral analyst, but he does consider with care the arguments raised by both proponents and critics of community control.

42. Altshuler expects community control to restore some legitimacy to the governance of institutions in black communities, and thereby improve the chances for social peace. He also expects community control to have a positive effect on the economic and political development of black communities. However, he makes no claims about the effects community control might have on the functioning of institutions or on participation rates.

Cohen suggests that community control might restore system legitimacy, and might also improve school climate by changing the atmosphere conditioning teacher expectations and school-community relations. However, he indicates that there is no evidence to support the claim that decentralization or community control will improve academic achievement.

CHAPTER II

1. The national norm is the median score attained by the group on which the test was standardized, a cross-section of the national population of the specified grade level. Raw scores are usually converted into "mean grade equivalent scores," i.e., the number of years and months of schooling of the average student who attained that raw score in the population on which the test was standardized. If a school is achieving at the national norm, then approximately 50% of the students of each grade should achieve a mean grade equivalent score above the national norm for that grade, and approximately 50% should achieve a mean grade equivalent score below the norm for that grade. In some schools in New York City, as few as 5-10% of the students in a particular grade attain scores at or above grade level; in few nonwhite neighborhoods does that figure reach more than 30%. In terms of mean grade equivalent scores for a given grade in a school in nonwhite neighborhoods, it is common to find a school's eighth grade attaining an average score of, let us say, 6.2 or 5.5 when the norm is 8.5; or a fifth grade attaining an average score of, let us say, 4.0 when the national norm is 5.7.

2. For research underscoring the low SES child's cumulative deficit in academic achievement, see studies in Martin Deutsch and Associates, The Disadvantaged Child: Studies of the Social Environment and the Learning Process (New York: Basic Books, 1967), especially: Martin Whiteman, Bert R. Brown, and Martin Deutsch, "Some Effects of Social Class and Race on Children's Language and Intellectual Abilities," pp. 319-335; Martin Whiteman and Martin Deutsch, "Social Disadvantage as Related to Intellective and Language Development," pp. 337-356; and Martin Deutsch, "The Role of Social Class in Language Development and Cognition," pp. 357-369.

3. For reading achievement data on the New York City schools, see the annual reports of scores for each grade in each school in the city published as: Bureau of Educational Research, New York City Board of Education, Summary of Citywide Reading Test Results, 1965-1966 and each succeeding year. These data are reported in the form of mean grade equivalent scores on the Metropolitan Reading Achievement Tests. Beginning in 1969-1970, the data were also reported in the form of percentage of students reading at or above national norms, in annual publications of the Bureau of Educational Research entitled School Ranks Report for Elementary and Junior High/Intermediate Schools. Data for selected grades have also been published annually by the New York Times. For instance, see: Leonard Buder, "Schools Report on Reading Skills," New York Times, January 27, 1971; and Leonard Buder, "Decline Continues in Reading Ability of Pupils in City," New York Times, November 19, 1972.

4. Numerous studies have reported this strong relationship between socioeconomic status and academic achievement, especially reading scores. The most notable of these was the Coleman Report -- James S. Coleman, Ernest Q. Campbell, Carol J. Hobson, James McPartland, Alexander M. Mood, Frederic D. Weinfeld, Robert L. York, Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966),

henceforth referred to as the Coleman Report.

5. For instance, see: Benjamin S. Bloom, Allison Davis, and Robert Hess, *Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965); Martin Deutsch and Associates, *The Disadvantaged Child: Studies of the Social Environment and the Learning Process* (New York: Basic Books, 1967); *School Children in the Urban Slum: Readings in Social Science Research*, Joan I. Roberts, ed. (New York: Free Press, 1967); *The Disadvantaged Learner: Knowing, Understanding, Education*, Staten W. Webster, ed. (San Francisco: Chandler, 1966); and *The Educationally Retarded and Disadvantaged* (Sixty-Sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I), Paul A. Witty, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967).

6. For a version of this argument, see: Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, *op. cit.*, Chapter II.

7. It should be noted that Mario Fantini's writings *do* stress the educational nature of these reforms rather than the political or organizational/administrative changes stressed by Marilyn Gittell and the ICS staff. For instance, see: Fantini, "Alternatives for Urban School Reform," *op. cit.*; Fantini, "Community Control and Quality Education in Urban School Systems," *op cit.*; Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, *op. cit.*; and especially the Bundy Report, *op. cit*. (Mario Fantini, Executive Secretary of the staff for the Bundy Panel).

8. For statistics on this, see: Eleanor Bernert Sheldon and Raymond A. Glazier, *Pupils and Schools in New York City: A Fact Book* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965), pp. 6-20, 108-111; New York City Board of Education, *Facts and Figures*, annual publications for 1967-1968, 1968-1969, 1969-1970; and Bureau of Educational Research and Statistics records of the school system's annual ethnic census, "Ethnic Composition of School Register."

9. For instance, see: Colin Greer, *The Great School Legend: A Revisionist Interpretation of American Public Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1972); Colin Greer, "Immigrants, Negroes, and the Public Schools," *The Urban Review*, 3 (January 1969); Colin Greer, "Public Schools: Myth of the Melting Pot," *Saturday Review*, 52 (November 15, 1969); David K. Cohen, "Immigrants and the Schools," *Review of Educational Research*, 40 (February 1970); David K. Cohen and Marvin Lazerson, "Education and the Corporate Order" (Cambridge: Center for Educational Policy Research Reprint Series); Samuel Bowles, "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labor," Union for Radical Political Economics, 1971 (Cambridge: Center for Educational Policy Research Reprint Series); Marvin Lazerson, "Educational Testing and Social Policy" (Cambridge: Center for Educational Policy Research Reprint Series); Marvin Lazerson, "The Historical Antecedents of Early Childhood Education," in *Early Childhood Education*, Seventy-First Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II, pp. 33-53; Marvin Lazerson, "Social Reform and Early Childhood Education: Some Historical Perspectives," *Urban Education*, 5 (April 1970), pp. 84-102; and Marvin Lazerson, "Urban Reform and the Schools: Kindergartens in Massachusetts, 1870-1917,"

History of Education Quarterly, 11 (Summer 1971), pp. 115-142.

10. For an excellent review of this literature, see: David K. Cohen and Marshall S. Smith, Parents, Power, and the Schools: Decentralization in the Cities, Unpublished manuscript, Center for Educational Policy Research, Harvard Graduate School of Education, July 1972. For other reviews of this material, see: Berube, "Educational Achievement and Community Control," op. cit.; and Lopate et al., "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," op cit. For a review of the size literature included in a study of the effects of high school size on student behavior, see Roger G. Barker and Paul V. Gump, Big School, Small School: High School Size and Student Behavior (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964).

11. Cohen and Smith, op. cit.; Berube, "Educational Achievement and Community Control," op. cit.; and Lopate et al., "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," op. cit.

    There is an extensive literature on school district size. Most of it, however, is concerned with the problems of excessively small rural districts and supports the trend toward consolidation into larger districts as the needed remedy. For instance, see: "School District Organization," Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Chester W. Harris, ed., 3rd Edition (New York: Macmillan, 1960), pp. 1194-1203; William B. Castetter, Organizational Change in Pennsylvania's School Administrative Units (Philadelphia: Educational Research and Service Bureau, University of Pennsylvania, 1966); John F. Gallagher, The Politics of School District Reorganization: The California Experience (Davis, California: Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, Davis, 1966); C.O. Fitzwater, School District Reorganization: Policies and Procedures (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, HEW, 1957); and D. Richard Wynn, Organization of Public Schools (New York: Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1964).

    Some of the literature, though, does give at least passing reference to the problems assumed to be caused by excessive size in large urban districts. For instance, see: Stephen J. Knezevich, Administration of Public Education (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), pp. 132-134; and Wynn, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

    Most attention to the problem of size in large city school systems is found not in the school administration literature, but in the specialized studies recommending decentralization of particular large-city systems into smaller districts. For instance, on New York, see: George Strayer and Louis Yavner, Administrative Management of the School System of New York City (New York: Board of Education, 1951); New York State Education Department, Historical Review of Studies and Proposals Relating to Decentralization of Administration in the New York City Public School System (Albany: State Education Department, Bureau of School and Cultural Research, 1967); Gittell, Participants and Participation, op. cit.; and Temporary Commission on City Finances, op. cit. On Chicago, see: Chicago Board of Education, Plans to Reorganize the Chicago Public Schools Into Three Administrative Areas (Chicago: Board of Education, 1967); and Robert J. Havighurst, The

Public Schools of Chicago (Chicago: Board of Education, 1964). On Washington, D.C., see: A. Harry Passow, *Toward Creating a Model Urban School System: A Study of the Washington, D.C. Public Schools* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1967). Also see studies cited in "Educational Achievement and Community Control," *op. cit.*; Lopate *et al.*, "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," *op. cit.*; and Gittell and Hollander, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

In much of the literature, there is assumed to be an optimal school district size, with smaller districts criticized as having an insufficient resource base to provide the kinds of facilities and specialized professionals needed for high quality education, and larger districts criticized as difficult to administer efficiently and responsively. However, the size of that optimal district tends to vary depending on whether the context of the discussion is rural consolidation or large-city system decentralization. Most of those discussions phrased in the framework of rural consolidation argue that 10,000 - 20,000 is optimal for per pupil costs, and perhaps minimal size in terms of quality considerations. Examples of these discussions are: C. F. Faber, "Size of a School District," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 48 (September 1966), pp. 33-35; Knezevich, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-132; Edgar L. Morphet, Roe L. Johns, and Theodore L. Reller, *Educational Organization and Administration: Concepts, Practices and Issues* (Engelwood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 274; Robert E. Wilson, *Educational Administration* (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1966), pp. 152-154; and Wynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9. In contrast, 100,000 is cited as the optimal figure in Lopate *et al.*, "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," *op. cit.*, p. 136. The authors cite three studies conducted in the 1940's and 1950's as support for this figure as the maximum effective school district size. These three studies are: Paul R. Mort and Francis G. Cornell, *American Schools in Transition: How Our Schools Adapt Their Practices to Changing Needs* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1941); Stanton F. Leggett and William S. Vincent, *A Program for Meeting the Needs of New York City Schools* (New York: Public Education Association, 1947); and *Administration for Adaptability*, Donald H. Ross, ed. (New York: Metropolitan School Study Council, 1958). However, Berube in "Educational Achievement and Community Control," *op. cit.*, p. 8 asserts that 20,000 is the ideal school district size for administrative flexibility and efficiency. Berube does not cite any evidence to support this claim, but one can assume that he had the rural consolidation literature in mind and applied the findings of these rural studies to the problems of large-city systems.

12. See: Gittell, *Participants and Participation*, *op. cit.*; Rogers, *110 Livingston Street*, *op. cit.*; Gittell and Hollander, *op. cit.*; Gittell and Hevesi, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-45; Gittell, "Community Control of Education," *op. cit.*; Gittell, "Urban School Politics: Professionalism vs. Reform," *op. cit.*; and Gittell, "Education: The Decentralization-Community Control Controversy," *op. cit.* For a review that indicates the extensive size of the literature attributing school failure to bureaucracy, and a discussion of the sources of organizational rigidity in the schools, see Willis D. Hawley, *Dealing with*

Organizational Rigidity in Public Schools: A Theoretical Perspective, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1971. For an interesting analysis of the shift from machine politics to bureaucratization and interest-group politics in education, see: Laurence Iannaccone and David K. Wiles, "The Changing Politics of Urban Education," Education and Urban Society, (May 1971), pp. 255-264; and Moore and Johnston, op. cit.

13. Rogers defines the term "sick" bureaucracy as a term for "organizations whose traditions, structure, and operations subvert their stated missions and prevent any flexible accommodations to changing client demands." Rogers, 110 Livingston Street, op. cit., p. 267. Similarly, David Goodwin, in his study of teacher attitudes to determine the extent to which they might be classified as "pathological," defined a pathological attitude as one that "detracts from the social aims of the organization." David Goodwin, Bureaucracy, Social Class, and 'Pathological' Teacher Attitudes, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1972, p. 2.

14. See Cardarelli, op. cit.; LaNoue, Politics of Decentralization (APSA), op. cit.; and LaNoue and Smith, Politics of Decentralization: Preliminary Report, op. cit.

15. Altshuler, op. cit.

16. Milton Kotler, Neighborhood Government (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969).

17. Gittell, Participants and Participation, op. cit.; Rogers, 110 Livingston Street, op. cit.; Gittell and Hollander, op. cit.; and Gittell, "The Balance of Power and the Community School," op. cit., p. 115.

18. For instance, see the following: Louis E. Yavner, Review of Decentralization Plans (Report to the Citizens Union School Committee, 1969); New York (State) University, Historical Review of Studies and Proposals Relative to Decentralization of Administration in the New York City Public School System (Albany, 1967); "Board Will Act 'Before June 30' on Plan to Decentralize Schools," The Public Schools of New York City Staff Bulletin, 3 (May 24, 1965); New York City Temporary Commission on City Finances, Governing the Public Schools, op. cit.; Gittell, Participants and Participation, op. cit.; New York City Board of Education, "Statement of Policy on Decentralization Proposed for Adoption by the Board of Education," January 17, 1967; New York City Board of Education, "Supplement to Decentralization Report," February 17, 1967; Milton Galamison, "People's Board: Plans for Decentralization," February 28, 1967; New York City Board of Education, "Decentralization Statement of Policy," March 30, 1967; Bernard Donovan, "Memo to the Members of the Board of Education, Subject: Decentralization Demonstration Projects," April 12, 1967; The Mayor's Advisory Panel, Bundy Report, op. cit.; New York City Board of Education, "Statement of the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools on the Recommendations of the Mayor's Panel on Decentralization," 1967; New York City Board of Education, "Tentative Proposals for Decentralization," 1968; New York City Board of

Education, "Detailed Summary of Proposed Community School District System Plan," 1968; New York City Board of Education, "Plan for Development of a Community School District System for the City of New York," January 29, 1969; New York City Board of Education, "A Plan for Educational Policy and Administrative Units, Further Decentralization of the Public Schools," 1968; "Recommendations of the Commissioner of Education to the Board of Regents Concerning Decentralization of the City School District of the City of New York," March 27, 1968; New York State Education Department News, March 29, 1968 (Entire issue); New York (State) University, Memorandum to: The Honorable Members of the Board of Regents, from: The Commissioner of Education, Subject: New York City School Decentralization - The Central Board of Education (Albany: Office of the President of the University and Commissioner of Education, The State Education Department, 1969); New York (State) University, "Recommendations of the Board of Regents Concerning a Plan for the Development of a Community School District System for the City of New York Submitted by the New York City Board of Education" (Albany: State Education Department, 1969); New York (State) Senate, "An Act in Relation to the Organization of the City School District of the City of New York, March 30, 1967" (Albany, 1967); New York (State) Laws, Statutes, etc., "...An Act Directing the Board of Education of the City School District of the City of New York to Prepare a Plan for the Development of a Community School District System in Such City" (Albany, 1968); New York (State) Laws, Statutes, etc., "...An Act to Amend the Educational Law, the New York City Charter and the New York City Administrative Code, in Relation to Establishing a Community School System in the City of New York" (Albany, 1968); "The United Federation of Teachers Looks at School Decentralization: A Critical Analysis of the Bundy Report with UFT Proposals, Policy Positions Adopted by the Executive Board on November 28, 1967" (New York: The United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, 1967); "UFT Legislative Memorandum in Support of Rules Committee S. 4892 (To Decentralize the School System of New York City)" (New York: The United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, 1968); "The United Federation of Teachers Supports the Decentralization of the New York City School System" (New York: The United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, 1969); and "UPA's Proposals for Decentralization," School Parent, 24 (February 1968).

19. Proponents of decentralization, community participation, community control -- or simply professional accountability to laymen -- are careful to point out that their schemes do not involve an abandonment of professionalism or the professional role in decisionmaking. Rather, they favor a "proper balance between professionalism and public participation in the policy process." /Gittell, "Community Control of Education," op. cit., p. 65./ And further, "Advocates of this position recognize that professions with skill and expertise are of primary importance in policy determination." /Gittell, "Urban School Politics: Professionalism vs. Reform," op. cit., p. 75./ Of course, these articles then go on to call for changes in access to professional roles (e.g., the merit system, etc.) and assert that professionals tend to be self-serving. And, in Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., they seem to express consternation at continuing professional dominance of the policy

process in local districts even during the first year of decentralization.

20. Bundy Report, op. cit. The Bundy Panel, officially called the Mayor's Advisory Panel on Decentralization, was appointed by Mayor Lindsay in the Spring of 1967. The state legislature had required that the Mayor submit a plan for decentralization of the city school system as a condition for receiving a requested additional appropriation of funds for the school system. The Mayor appointed a panel headed by McGeorge Bundy, President of the Ford Foundation, who had been instrumental in promoting and developing proposals for the demonstration projects, which were funded by the Ford Foundation during the three years of their existence. Other members of the panel were: Alfred A. Giardino (then President of the Board of Education, which was developing its own decentralization proposals), Francis Keppel, Antonia Pantoja, Mitchell Sviridoff, and Benetta B. Washington. The panel's staff was headed by Mario Fantini of the Ford Foundation. The panel submitted its report in November 1967.

21. Bundy Report, op. cit., p. 6.

22. Wasserman, School Fix, op. cit., p. 195.

23. Rogers, 110 Livingston Street, op. cit., pp. 85-88. For other discuscusions of parent alienation, see: Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, op. cit.; Gittell, "The Community and Its Schools," op. cit.; Gittell and Hevesi, op. cit., p. 9; Bundy Report, op. cit.; and Lopate et al., "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," op. cit., p. 148.

24. Bundy Report, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

25. Ibid., pp. 2, 3, 69.

26. Berube, "Educational Achievement and Community Control," op. cit., pp. 6-8; Fantini, "Alternatives for Urban School Reform," op. cit.; Fantini, "Community Control and Quality Education in Urban School Systems," op. cit., pp. 45-46; Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, op. cit., p. 231; Gittell, "The Community and its Schools," op. cit., p. 248; Gittell, "Community Control of Education," op. cit., pp. 65-66; Levin, Community Control of Schools, op. cit., pp. 276-279; and Rogers, 110 Livingston Street, op. cit., p. 477.

27. For instance, Gittell in "Urban School Reform in the 1970's," wrote, "The most important consideration in the evaluation of any political system should be its ability to change." Innovation is the dependent variable at the heart of Gittell and Hollander, op. cit. A study frequently cited in Gittell and ICS writings is Mort and Cornell, op. cit. In the Mort and Cornell study, educational quality is measured by adaptability to change.

28. For instance, see Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

29. Bundy Report, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; Fantini, "Alternatives for Urban School Reform," *op. cit.*; Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, *op. cit.*, pp. xviii-xix, 137, 173; Gittell, "The Community and its Schools," *op. cit.*, p. 247; Gittell, "Community Control of Education," *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66; Gittell *et al.*, *School Decentralization and School Policy*, *op. cit.*, p. 61; Levin, *Community Control of Schools*, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-279; and Rogers, *110 Livingston Street*, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-88, 480.

30. The classic work on political systems theory is David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York: Wiley, 1965). For a later, summary description of the theory, see David Easton and Jack Dennis, *Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), pp. 47-70.

31. For instance, see virtually all the Gittell articles we have cited, especially, Gittell, "Urban School Politics: Professionalism vs. Reform," *op. cit.*, p. 70. For explicit applications of political systems theory to analysis of school systems, see: Frank W. Banghart, *Educational Systems Analysis* (London: MacMillan, 1969); Michael W. Kirst and Edith K. Mosher, "Politics of Education," *Review of Educational Research*, 39 (December 1969), pp. 623-640; David O'Shea, "New Perspectives on the Political System of School Districts," *Division G Generator*, American Educational Research Association, 2 (March 1972), pp. 2-8; Jay D. Scribner, "A Functional-Systems Framework for Analyzing School Board Action," *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 2 (1966), pp. 204-215; Jay D. Scribner, "The Politics of Educational Reform: Analyses of Political Demand," *Urban Education*, 4 (January 1970), pp. 348-374; Kenneth A. Tye, *A Framework for Analyzing Relationships Between Public Demands and School Board Decisions*, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, 1970; and especially Frederick M. Wirt and Michael W. Kirst, *The Political Web of American Schools* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972). For critiques of the utility of systems theory for analyzing the politics of education, see: Gerald Sroufe, *Political Systems Analysis in Educational Administration: Can the Emperor be Clothed?* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, 1969; and Robert Stout, *Social Systems Theory and Educational Administration: System, System, Who Has the System?* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, 1969.

32. For discussions of legitimacy crises, see Easton, *Systems Analysis*, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-340; Easton and Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-64; and Seymour Lipset, "Social Conflict, Legitimacy, and Democracy," *Political Man* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1960), pp. 77-96.

33. 1966 is usually considered the date for the surfacing of this disaffection in critical proportions, in the controversy over the opening of the now famous I.S. 201. Until 1966, school controversies in New York City revolved around efforts to promote integration in the public schools. In the course of the struggle over opening I.S. 201, the focus shifted from demands for integration to demands for community control of the school. Few of those involved in the controversy at the outset anticipated that the goals they espoused would be

transformed in this manner. All published reports of what happened indicate that the community control issue evolved out of frustration and intense distrust of the central Board of Education and its headquarters and district level staff.

In the I.S. 201 controversy, the basis for this distrust was the outcome of the Board of Education's promises, going back to the site selection in 1958, and repeated throughout the intervening period, that this new school would be integrated. At its scheduled opening, however, the "integration" plan called for a student body that was to be 50% black and 50% Puerto Rican.

This distrust was intensified by events that preceded the school's opening in 1966, resulting in spring and summer boycotts to delay the opening, and continued demonstrations in the early weeks of school in September. For instance, analyses of this early period describe participants' bitterness over their supposed consultation with Board officials over selecting a name for the school. Despite the consultative machinery set up by the Board, the new name of the school was announced officially in a school system bulletin before system officials returned to the community to get its suggestions.

A second instance involved negotiations over who was to serve as the principal of the school. Reports suggest that a tacit agreement on this question was reached between the I.S. 201 Negotiating Committee and the Superintendent of Schools. The principal was to be a black or Puerto Rican, and the already-appointed white principal was to resign. However, pressure from the school's teachers forced the reinstatement of the white principal, and left the I.S. 201 Negotiating Committee again feeling betrayed and powerless.

The statements of community residents have been cited in histories of this controversy to indicate the mood of the area at the time. The appointed local school board of the district resigned in disgust over the failure of the Board of Education to give it the new powers scheduled to be granted to the local boards that year. Its members charged that they were being used to "create the picture that the Board of Education does consult with the community, when, in fact, it does not." In discussing negotiations over the choice of principal for the school, Mrs. Helen Testamark, President of the Parents Council of the district's twenty-three Parent Associations, is quoted to have said of the Superintendent of Schools, "He hasn't ignored us, he's toying with us. It's like saying you don't count."

For histories of the I.S. 201 controversies, see: Minter, op. cit.; "A Summary of the Controversy at I.S. 201," IRCD Bulletin, op. cit.; Goldberg, "I.S. 201: An Educational Landmark," op. cit.; Jones, "The Issues at I.S. 201," op. cit.; Larner, op. cit.; United Teacher, 8 (October 1966), Special Issue, op. cit.; and Wasserman, "The I.S. 201 Story," op. cit.

This same kind of distrust can be seen in numerous incidents in the city since this initial struggle. Throughout the stormy histories of the three demonstration districts, especially the I.S. 201 and Ocean

Hill-Brownsville districts, there were countless charges that Board of Education officials were not acting in good faith. In the early months of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district, for instance, leaders charged that school system officials were unwilling to furnish the district with lists of parents so that potential voters could be registered for the coming governing board elections. Months of delay in approving such basic equipment as a telephone for the district office were interpreted as obstructionist tactics of school system personnel. Suits brought by the CSA and UFT over the principals appointed by the new districts to fill vacancies without regard to the regular city lists of candidates were viewed as betrayal of agreements with school officials that the districts could disregard the regular lists so long as certain criteria were met. The CSA-UFT suits over the new principals, the 1968 and 1969 UFT strikes, with CSA support particularly in the 1969 disputes, and the UFT and CSA lobbying efforts over decentralization, strengthened convictions that these two powerful associations could be trusted no more than the Board of Education and its central staff in accepting any significant change in the school system structure.

Constant disputes over what powers the demonstration districts did or did not have culminated in the bitter Ocean Hill-Brownsville controversy and with it the UFT strikes. To those who supported these districts, the ultimate betrayal was in the provisions of the 1969 Decentralization Act dissolving them as independent entities. Leaders in the community control movement charged that the new law permitted no real change in the distribution of effective decisionmaking power. In arguing for a boycott of the 1970 community school board elections, United Bronx Parents, for instance, charged that the new boards reflected a counterfeit effort to promote the illusion of a change in power while really changing nothing; that the energies of the school boards would be absorbed in handling insignificant details; and that the main objective was to divert community protests from the central Board of Education and its headquarters staff to the community boards. The extent to which decentralization in operation has alleviated some of this distrust is still a question in need of investigation.

For details, see especially: Karp, "School Decentralization in New York City," _op. cit_.; Kemble, _op. cit_.; Levine and Cohen, _op. cit_.; Mayer, _The Teachers Strike_, _op. cit_.; NYCLU, _Burden of Blame_, _op. cit_.; Niemeyer _et al_., _Final Report_, _op. cit_.; _Confrontation at Ocean Hill-Brownsville_, Berube and Gittell, eds., _op. cit_., and "Why We Are Not Participating in the Local School Board Elections: An Open Letter from Evelina Antonetty, Executive Director, United Bronx Parents," reprinted in _Community_, 2 (April 1970).

34. The specific individuals who were attacked were usually school principals and district superintendents in black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods in the city. These attacks became increasingly common in the year or so after the I.S. 201 controversy. They involved attacks on the motives, competence, and ultimately the authority of system personnel. The charges were usually accusations of insensitivity to the needs of the "community." Boycotts, demonstrations, and other pressure tactics proved reasonably effective. At one point, it was

estimated that at least 20 new desk jobs had been created at Board headquarters for ousted personnel whom the Board was unable to reassign. These ousters were significant in reflecting the erosion of system support beyond the faceless level of the remote Board of Education and its headquarters staff.

See: Thomas A. Johnson, "Principal Under Fire of Parents in Brooklyn Requests Transfer," New York Times, May 17, 1967; M. A. Farber, "Faculty Meeting Disrupts a School in Brooklyn," New York Times, May 18, 1967; John Sibley, "Brooklyn Parents Call Off a Boycott at P.S. 284," New York Times, May 19, 1967; Thomas A. Johnson, "Principal Asks For a Transfer: 2nd in a Week in Brooklyn - Target of Local Groups," New York Times, May 20, 1967; Peter Kihss, "School Leaders See Bias in Bids to Oust Principals," New York Times, May 22, 1967; Morris Kaplan, "Parents Protest Bronx Principal," New York Times, April 23, 1968; Morris Kaplan, "Board of I.S. 148 Yields in Protest: Asks Principal be Shifted After Parents' Sleep-in," New York Times, April 24, 1968; Morris Kaplan, "Borad of Education Refuses to Shift I.S. 148 Principal, Forcing Local Officials To Do So," New York Times, April 25, 1968; and Steven V. Roberts, "White Principal Who Became Symbol Would Quit Boys High," New York Times, May 29, 1968.

35. The efforts to oust principals and district superintendents were significant in reflecting the erosion of system support to the point where norms had changed. It was no longer considered inappropriate or improper (much less unthinkable) to attack the competence of system professionals. This competence has long been accepted as the basis of professionals' authority, legitimating the decisions they made that so vitally affected students' life-chances. Once the legitimacy of that authority was called into question, the forms shifted from particular incumbents to the nature of the authority roles themselves and the system they maintained. Attacks on the "merit principle" (i.e., selecting supervisors on the basis of examination grades) were the most critical and controversial form of this disaffection. For a discussion of the substitution of racial and political (i.e., "loyalty") criteria for the "merit principle," and its relationship to legitimacy, see Cohen, "The Price of Community Control," op. cit. The efforts to oust supervisors suggested that the relationship between professionals and laymen was in a state or transition, and that the developing demands to restructure system governance would increasingly represent attempts to institutionalize that changed relationship.

36. From September 1966, when central school system officials agreed to joint community-Board of Education participation in the running of I.S. 201, until the decentralization law was passed in May 1969, school-related controversies in New York City focused on finding a politically satisfactory redistribution of authority over educational decisionmaking. As soon as the I.S. 201 controversy abated somewhat, Board of Education headquarters staff revived discussions of decentralizing some decisionmaking authority from the headquarters staff level to the district staff level, discussions with a long start-again-stop-again history.

The early plans did not, however, shift any power out of the hands of school system personnel. The main thrust of a 1965 decentralization move had been to end the elementary, junior high, and high school divisions at Board of Education headquarters and place all the schools within the boundaries of each district under the administrative jurisdiction of the district superintendent. New plans, drawn up in the fall of 1966 and announced in January 1967, proposed to transfer additional powers to district superintendents on such matters as district budgets, books and supplies, curriculum, staff assignments, and zoning. These powers were to be exercised in consultation with the, at that time, appointed local school boards.

Community pressures, however, continued unabated. It became increasingly clear that tensions would not be alleviated by any plan that failed to provide a role for community spokesmen in the exercise of those powers. In response, the Board released a supplement to its decentralization report, calling for demonstration districts involving experiments in various forms of decentralization and community involvement. The Board approved the plan, after receiving a memorandum from the Superintendent of Schools detailing the kinds of experiments that might be tried, and naming as sites for the various experiments virtually every area of the city where there had been community pressure for increased involvement. Most of these experiments were never tried, even when there was community pressure to force the Board to fulfill what the community viewed as a promise, as in the Joan of Arc district. However, within a few months, the incentive of Ford Foundation money prompted the Board to create three demonstration districts: the I.S. 201 complex, Ocean Hill-Brownsville, and Two Bridges. These districts were to have elected school boards with presumably wide powers, including the power to select their own unit administrators equivalent to district superintendents.

In the ensuing years, the focus of the effort to bring about system-wide decentralization was shifted to the state legislature. Legislators had made their own demand for system-wide decentralization a condition tied to a requested educational appropriation. To meet the legislative request, various decentralization proposals were put forth, and a period of intense lobbying began. In the various proposals by the Bundy panel, the Mayor's office, the Board of Education itself, the UFT, the CSA, and the state Board of Regents, the critical issue was always the amount of authority to be shared with parents and community residents in order to restore legitimacy to the authority exercised by school personnel. In the decentralization law passed in May 1969, this was resolved by providing for election of community school boards, to go into effect July 1, 1970; election of a citywide Board of Education, to go into effect July 1, 1971; and a number of compromises on the amount of decisionmaking power to be granted to the community school boards.

That some significant degree of authority had to be granted to the community boards became painfully apparent in the intense 1968 and 1969 controversies in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, continued on in various forms in the I.S. 201 district. What these conflicts made clear was that at the core of notions of community control was a view of the decisionmaking process in sharp conflict with the prevailing view held by those in positions of authority. This new view of decisionmaking entailed an attack on the authority of officials in the centralized school system structure; invested minority group leaders and organizations who had previously been excluded from channels of access and influence with new authority; undermined the authority of those whom school system officials had treated as spokesmen for these communities; and denied the established decisionmakers the right to make a wide range of decisions affecting community residents. The basic tenets of this new view of decisionmaking can be outlined, in purist form, as follows:

(1) the existence of non-negotiable rights (in this case, control over the education of one's children);

(2) the resolution of issues involving non-negotiable rights within the communities affected;

(3) denial of the legitimacy of the authority of a centralized distant power structure for dealing with issues involving non-negotiable rights; and

(4) non-compliance with agreements made by outside authorities affecting non-negotiable rights of communities.

In contrast to these notions are the basic principles of the prevalent view of decisionmaking, practiced by those in positions of authority and well-established pressure groups who have access to these authorities:

(1) an emphasis on rights established over time through negotiation with those in power;

(2) resolution of controversies involving these rights through negotiation with those in power;

(3) acceptance of the legitimacy of the authority of those in power, and the system through which they function; and

(4) compliance with the best agreement possible at a particular time and accumulation of debts and understandings in the process of negotiating this agreement that will be helpful in winning acquiescence to future demands.

In the Ocean Hill-Brownsville and I.S. 201 controversies, these two opposing views were operating. Central school system officials, city and state authorities, and UFT leaders kept announcing agreements with which district personnel refused to comply. These officials and the public, used to the older view of decisionmaking, were aghast at "agreements" being ignored. From the point of view of demonstration district leaders, however, these central system officials and distant powers had no legitimate authority to make decisions about education for these communities. It was in these clashes that the clearest challenge was made to the legitimacy of the authority of the school system central structure.

For references to the history described here, see Chapter I, footnotes 2, 3, 5, and 6.

37. For instance, see Easton, Systems Analysis, op. cit., pp. 57-69, 220-243.

38. See Chapter VIII.

39. See references cited in Preface, footnote 1, especially Gans, "The 'Equality' Revolution," op. cit.; Glazer, "For White and Black, Community Control is the Issue," op. cit.; and Kopkind, "Are We in the Middle of a Revolution?" op. cit.

40. This is suggested by David Cohen in "The Price of Community Control," op. cit.

41. For a discussion of this, see Glazer, "For White and Black, Community Control is the Issue," op. cit.

42. Hamilton, "Race and Education," op. cit., p. 674.

43. Cohen, "The Price of Community Control," op. cit.

44. For instance, see Thomas H. Eliot, "Toward an Understanding of Public School Politics," American Political Science Review, 52 (December 1959), pp. 1032-1051, as reprinted in Governing Education: A Reader on Politics, Power, and Public School Policy, Alan Rosenthal, ed. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969), pp. 3-35; Moore and Johnston, op. cit.; Michael W. Kirst and Edith K. Mosher, "Politics of Education," Review of Educational Research, 39 (December 1969), pp. 623-640; and Frederick M. Wirt and Michael W. Kirst, The Political Web of American Schools (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1972), pp. 4-11.

45. For instance, see: Burton Clark, "The 'Cooling Out' Function in Higher Education," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (May 1960); Christopher Jencks and David Riessman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City: Doubleday, 1970), Chapter III; Bowles, "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labor," op. cit.; Cohen and Lazerson, "Education and the Corporate Order," op. cit.; and James S. Coleman, "The Concept of Equality of Educational Opportunity," Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Winter 1968), pp. 7-22.

46. For instance, see: Hamilton, "Race and Education," op. cit.; Hamilton, "Education in the Black Community," op. cit.; and Cohen and Lazerson, op. cit.

47. For instance, see critiques of school testing, labelling, and tracking, such as Wasserman, School Fix, op. cit. However for somewhat different views on testing and tracking, see Lazerson, "Educational Testing and Social Policy," op. cit.; Barbara L. Heyns, "Social Stratification and Stratification Within Schools," Center for Educational Policy Research Reprint Series (Cambridge: Center for

Educational Policy Research, Harvard University Graduate School of Education); and Henry Acland, "Ability Grouping in the British Primary Schools," Center for Educational Policy Research Reprint Series (Cambridge: Center for Educational Policy Research, Harvard University Graduate School of Education).

48. Cohen, "Price of Community Control," op. cit.

49. Fein, "Community Schools and Social Theory," op. cit.; and Fein, Ecology of Public Schools, op. cit.

50. Ibid.

51. Cohen, "Price of Community Control," op. cit.

52. The extent to which accountability is viewed by proponents as central to the concept of community control can be gauged from the assertion that "community control ... is to be understood ... as a demand for school accountability." /Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, op. cit., p. x./ Also, Miriam Wasserman, School Fix, op. cit., p. 195 argues that accountability is at the crux of community control.

53. The New York City school system has an enrollment of more than 1.1 million students in more than 960 school buildings.

54. For instance, see: Women's City Club of New York, Strengthen or Abolish? A Study of Local School Boards in New York City (New York: Women's City Club, 1960); and Women's City Club of New York, Performance and Promise: New York City's Local School Boards Revisited (New York: Women's City Club, 1966).

55. For instance, see: New York City Board of Education, "Decentralization Statement of Policy," March 30, 1967; New York City Board of Education, "Tentative Proposals for Decentralization," 1968; and New York City Board of Education, "Detailed Summary of Proposed Community School District System Plan," 1968. For descriptions of administrative decentralization in other cities, where district superintendents were granted even less discretionary power than in New York, see Cardarelli, op. cit.

56. One qualification is in order. The local school boards were granted a role in the selection of district superintendents and principals. There was a great deal of ambiguity, however, as to whether this role was only advisory or involved final authority. This became clear in clashes between local boards and the central system authorities over some appointments, notably the demand by one school board that Elliott Shapiro be appointed their district superintendent and the central system's efforts to resist this demand. The ambiguity continued at least until the 1969 decentralization law went into effect in 1970.

57. Altshuler, op. cit.

58. At least one piece of research suggests that this accountability to the public will not come about unless structural changes force a change in the lines of accountability. As an Ed.D. dissertation for Teachers College, Columbia University, Dale Mann conducted a survey of 50 New York City elementary school principals. Mann found that the principals tend to view themselves as "trustees" rather than "representatives" of the community. They say that generally in a case of conflict between their own professional judgment and community desires, they would abide by their own judgment. Mann's dissertation is discussed in LaNoue, Politics of School Decentralization (APSA), op. cit.

59. Wasserman, School Fix, op. cit., pp. 195-196.

60. For this analysis of the meaning of the demand for community control, see Altshuler, op. cit., pp. 14-15, 55. Also see: Levin, ed., Community Control of Schools, op. cit., pp. 280-282; Berube and Gittell, eds., Confrontation at Ocean Hill-Brownsville, op. cit., p. 8; Gittell, "Community Control of Education," op. cit.; Gittell, "The Balance of Power and the Community School," op. cit.; and Rhody A. McCoy, "The Formation of a Community-Controlled School District," in Community Control of Schools, Levin, ed., op. cit., p. 171.

61. For instance, see: Gittell, "Community Control of Education," op. cit.

62. See: James S. Coleman, E. W. Campbell, C. J. Hobson, J. McPartland, A. M. Mood, F. D. Weinfeld, and R. L. York, Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966); and James S. Coleman, "Educational Dilemmas: Equal Schools or Equal Students?" Public Interest (Summer 1966), pp. 70-75. For a good analysis of the complexities of this variable and the problems overlooked by those who try to apply it to discussions of community control, see Judith Kleinfeld, "'Sense of Fate Control' and Community Control of Schools," Education and Urban Society (May 1971), pp. 277-300.

63. Robert S. Weiss and Martin Rein, "The Evaluation of Broad-Aim Programs: A Cautionary Case and a Moral," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 385 (September 1969), pp. 133-141.

64. For a good discussion of the importance of measuring inputs and relating these to program outcomes, see David K. Cohen, "Politics and Research: Evaluation of Social Action Programs in Education," Review of Educational Research, 40 (April 1970), pp. 213-238.

CHAPTER III

1. For instance, see Melvin M. Tumin, ed., *Race and Intelligence: A Scientific Evaluation* (New York: B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, 1963); Orville G. Brim, Jr., David C. Glass, John Neulinger, and Ira J. Firestone, with the assistance of Sally C. Lerner, *American Beliefs and Attitudes about Intelligence* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969), and Anne Anastasi, ed., *Testing Problems in Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966).

2. This assertion avoids the issue of test-taking ability. Some critics of standardized tests have argued that all they measure is skill in test-taking. However, it seems unreasonable to assume that they are not also measuring specific cognitive skills.

3. Every one of the major community control experiments has been established in the expectation by advocates, administrators, and community supporters that they would increase academic achievement, whatever else they might also accomplish. This is also true of the expectations for citywide decentralization. Therefore, positions such as those stated by Charles Hamilton in "Race and Education," *op. cit.* may be considered either the positions of theoreticians of the movement, or perhaps statements of other objectives of community control (e.g., changes in school climate and especially student attitudes, and changes in governance). However, it would be mistaken to assume, as Hamilton asserted in that article, that traditionally-conceived academic achievement is not still high on the agenda of black people, at least as demonstrated in these projects.

4. Zimet, *op. cit.*

5. For references, see Chapter I, footnotes 2-5.

6. C.S., meaning "Community School," is the designation used in the I.S. 201 demonstration district for the traditional P.S. (for Public School) usage. "C.S. 133" is "Community School 133." Some reports use the traditional designation, "P.S. 133."

   The two Center for Urban Education reports are: Schwartz and Saxl, *op. cit.*, an overview of the Morgan School project; and Gordon and Kassin, *op. cit.*, an evaluation of Dr. Caleb Gattegno's reading and mathematics programs, "Words in Color" and "Mathematics in Color," as implemented in C.S. 133. It should be noted that the scope of the Gordon and Kassin C.S. 133 evaluation was limited to the Gattegno programs. It was not an evaluation of C.S. 133 in general or as a field experiment in community control. The fact that the evaluation took place in a community controlled school was purely coincidental, and community control as such was not assessed or considered in the report. The Center for Urban Education was primarily interested in the Gattegno program itself. It happened to be implemented in C.S. 133 because of the willingness of the district and school staff to try the Gattegno program, and the speed with which they acted on the proposal.

7. Gittell, et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., pp. 112-115.

8. See official school system records; also Gittell, et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., p. 112; and Ravitch, op. cit., p. 72.

9. Ravitch, op. cit.

10. Zimet, op. cit.

11. New York City administers the Metropolitan Achievement Tests (MAT) in reading and arithmetic. Washington, D.C. administers the Sequential Tests of Educational Progress (STEP) in reading and arithmetic.

12. For instance, Ravitch, op. cit.; Gordon and Kassin, op. cit.; Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., p. 112.

13. For instance, see below, Chapter III, footnotes 16, 17, 19, and 20.

14. Schwartz and Saxl, op. cit., pp. 36-38, 42-44. Different amounts of data are presented for different grades in this report. The program operated in grades 2 and 3 in 1968 - 1969, and was extended to include grades K-5 in 1969 - 1970. Therefore, for grades 2 and 3, three years worth of reading data are presented, with 1967 - 1968 serving as a baseline. For grades 4 and 5, only two years worth of data are provided, with 1968 - 1969 serving as a baseline. Because of less frequent arithmetic testing in New York City, less arithmetic data are presented, and the confusing labelling of a table (Table 9, page 44) makes uncertain what arithmetic data are presented there. The data are presented in the form of mean grade equivalent scores on the Metropolitan Achievement Tests, and mean gains on mean grade equivalent scores between years of testing the same grade of students.

15. Gordon and Kassin, op. cit., pp. 43-46. Data are presented for grades 4 and 6 on the STEP tests of reading and mathematics. The data are presented in the form of median percentile ranks, Morgan rank compared with all Washington, D.C. schools, and progress or regression (presumably using mean grade equivalent scores) compared to the city mean and the national norm. The 1970 data also include information about percentage of students below the big-city norm.

16. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., pp. 112-115. Since the approach was started in the higher grades later than in grades 2 and 3, there are different amounts of data for different grade levels. The data are presented in the form of mean grade equivalent scores on the Metropolitan Reading Achievement Test for each grade in C.S. 133, along with District 4 norms (see Chapter III, footnote 18 below) and national norms. Additional charts also provide data on percentage of students reading at or above national grade norms per grade per year, and pre-post gain data calculated for students with complete data sets.

17. For grades 2 and 3, no baseline data are provided although data for

1967 - 1968 are readily available in school system records and could have been included. Year 1 for these two grades is 1968; Year 2 is 1969. For grades 4 and 5, baseline data are provided for two years (1968 and 1969), and Year 1 is 1970, with no Year 2 data provided. The years covered in these tables are not the same as those in the Schwartz and Saxl study.

18. District 4 is the larger school district out of which the I.S. 201 demonstration district was carved.

19. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., p. 112. Mean grade equivalent scores on the Metropolitan Achievement Test are presented for grades 2 and 4 for the I.S. 201 and Two Bridges districts, along with statements comparing these to the national norms and to the general trend in these data for the city as a whole. However, specific scores for the city are not presented.

20. Ravitch, op. cit., p. 72. Ravitch presents mean grade equivalent scores on the Metropolitan Reading Achievement Test for some grades in some of the schools for spring 1967 and spring 1971. However, for the most part, she states what data comparisons show without presenting any of the data. "Every school in the district reported poor reading scores -- as compared with other schools in the city, with other schools in Brooklyn, and even with other ghetto schools generally.... No school in the former Ocean Hill-Brownsville district recorded a higher score in 1971 than it had in 1967."

21. Zimet, op. cit. Zimet presents data for the schools in District 7 for the five years prior to decentralization and the one year following decentralization and compares these data with city means.

22. Schwartz and Saxl, op. cit., pp. 36-38, 42-44; Gordon and Kassin, op. cit., pp. 43-46; Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., pp. 112-115.

23. The information on Ocean Hill-Brownsville is reported in Ravitch, op. cit., and is confirmed by our examination of official school system records. However, it must be noted that the description of declining achievement is based on comparison of data for spring 1967 (prior to creation of the demonstration district) and spring 1971 (nearly one year after abolition of the district as an autonomous entity). As Ravitch notes, however, district officials might dispute the conclusion that achievement declined. The district refused to administer the standardized reading tests given throughout the city or, according to Ravitch, any other substitute standardized test. Yet the district office released statements and bulletins during the years of its existence claiming dramatic gains in reading achievement. (One of these statements in particular is described by Ravitch.) However, no details were ever released as to what measures were used by the district as the basis of these claims.

24. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., p. 12. Our own examination of official city school system data confirms the assertion by the Gittell group that citywide data show an achievement decline during this period.

25. Zimet, *op. cit.*

26. Gittell, *op. cit.*, *Demonstration for Social Change*, Chapter V, pp. 116-127.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

28. These include items from James S. Coleman's Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey, the Bailer-Cromwell Scale, the Crandall-Katkovsky-Crandall Scale, and the Gurin scale from Gurin's 1966 study of black adolescents in Southern colleges. See Chapter VII, footnote 26.

29. For instance, see Gordon, "Climate for Learning: The Morgan Community School," *op. cit.*; Wielk, "Ocean Hill-Brownsville Project: A Profile," *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 12-13; Gittell *et al.*, *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 110-111; Parsons, "Community School Movement," *op. cit.* Also see, Alfred Kazin, "The Holy Flame of Learning," reprinted from the *New York Times* in *Community*, 1 (December 1, 1968), p. 5.

30. The exception here mentioned occasionally were those teachers and administrators who were employed in the districts prior to their demonstration status, continued their employment during the period of demonstration status, and continued to act in opposition to the project leadership. This kind of opposition is particularly mentioned with regard to Two Bridges.

31. For instance, see research reviews in N. L. Gage, ed., *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963), especially chapters on systematic observation of classroom behavior, rating methods in research on teaching, measuring noncognitive variables in research on teaching, investigation of teaching methods and teacher characteristics, and social interaction in the classroom. For an updated version of this handbook, see R. M. W. Travers, *Second Handbook of Research on Teaching* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972). Also see: Walcott H. Beatty, ed., *Improving Educational Assessment and an Inventory of Measures of Affective Behavior* (Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA, 1969); and Ira J. Gordon, *Studying the Child in the School* (New York: Wiley, 1966).

32. In all fairness to Parsons and Zimet, neither stated that he was measuring school climate. In fact, Zimet referred to these indicators (as well as reading scores) as measures of school effectiveness. Parsons simply reported the data on these indicators along with references to the new school climate. However, it seems reasonable to interpret what they presented as efforts to determine whether school functioning had changed in a manner consistent with what the community control advocates described as a new school climate.

33. Parsons, "Community School Movement," *op. cit.*, pp. 8 and 21. Also, on p. 46 he states that Follow-Through students in the project described had a lower absentee rate than non-Follow-Through students. However, he is ignoring here the self selection factor that operates in projects such as Follow-Through.

34. Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., p. 133.

35. On New York City, see: Wallace S. Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, *Governing New York City: Politics in the Metropolis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1960); Strayer and Yavner, *op. cit*.; The State Education Department, Historical Review, *op. cit*.; Women's City Club of New York, *Strengthen or Abolish? A Study of Local School Boards in New York City* (New York: Women's City Club, 1960); Women's City Club of New York, *Performance and Promise: New York City's Local School Boards Revisited* (New York: Women's City Club, 1966). On Chicago, see: Havighurst, *op. cit*.; and Joseph Pois, *The School Board Crisis: A Chicago Case Study* (Chicago: Educational Methods, 1964). On Boston, see: Peter Schrag, *Village School Downtown: Politics and Education, A Boston Report* (Boston: Beacon, 1967). On Washington, D.C., see: A. Harry Passow, *Summary of Findings and Recommendations of a Study of the Washington, D.C. Schools* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1967). On New Haven, see: Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961). Also see: Joseph M. Cronin, *The Board of Education in the Great Cities, 1890-1964*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1965; Gittell and Hollander, *op. cit*.; and Gittell and Hevesi, *op. cit*. pp. 143-277.

36. Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., pp. 67, 76, 89-90, 93-95, 97, 98, 100-110.

37. *Ibid*., pp. 77-78, 82.

38. *Ibid*, p. 106; also see Gordon and Kassin, *op. cit*., p. 8.

39. Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., pp. 106-108; also see: Hannah S. Hess, *The Third Side of the Desk: How Parents Can Change the Schools* (New York: Scribner, 1972); M. R. Berube and C. McCoy, "Infant School in New York: Can the System Be Beat?" *Community*, 1 (May 1969), pp. 4-5. The Upper West Side Manhattan community around P.S. 84, the school involved in this effort, is especially appropriate for comparison with the community controlled districts. P.S. 84 is one of the feeder elementary schools for Joan of Arc Junior High School. The community around Joan of Arc was one of the areas in the city where there were early pressures for community control, and was originally designated as one of the sites for a demonstration district. A community group even conducted elections for a governing board for the new district. However, the Board of Education reneged on its original proposal, refused to create the Joan of Arc district, and refused to recognize the board elected by the community for the special district. The Joan of Arc district, then, is comparable to the I.S. 201 and Ocean Hill-Brownsville districts in terms of community climate favorable to community control.

40. Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., pp. 100-104; Wielk, "Ocean Hill-Brownsville Project: A Profile," *op. cit*., pp. 13-15; Parsons, "Community School Movement," *op. cit*., p. 20; Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, *op. cit*., pp. 220, 223-224; Berube, "Bereiter-Engelmann Method in Ocean Hill-Brownsville," *op. cit*., pp.

4-5; "Bilingual Program in Ocean Hill-Brownsville," *Community*, *op. cit*., p. 5; and Wielk, "Educational Progress at Ocean Hill," p. 3.

41. Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., pp. 105-106; Parsons, "Community School Movement," *op. cit*., p. 17; Gottfried, "I.S. 201: A New Look at Black History," *op. cit*., p. 6; and Gordon and Kassin, *op. cit*.

42. Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., pp. 105-106; Spier, "Two Bridges," *op. cit*., p. 6; and Spier, "Two Bridges Model School District: A Profile," *op. cit*., p. 8.

43. Parsons, "Community School Movement," *op. cit*.; Gittell, "Community Control in the Nation," *op. cit*.; Fantini. Gittell, and Magat, *op. cit*., pp. 221-222; Schwartz and Saxl, *op. cit*.; and Gordon, "Climate for Learning: The Morgan Community School," *op. cit*.

44. Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., p. 106; "I.S. 201," *Community*, 1 (December 1, 1968), p. 8; and "I.S. 201," *Community*, 1 (January 1969), p. 6.

45. For instance, see Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., pp. 86-87, 105-107, and 109.

46. Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., p. 100.

47. *Ibid*., pp. 100, 109.

48. The number of "special programs" listed for each school ranged from 2 to 27. When these are collapsed by district, one district alone (represented by only 3 schools in our sample) had as many as 47 special programs listed. (An average New York City school district may have as many as 30 elementary schools under its jurisdiction.) The mean number of special programs listed for the predominantly white schools in our sample was 6.73. The mean number for the predominantly nonwhite schools was 7.54. The differences are not very large, but do represent rather different kinds of programs: the programs in the nonwhite schools tend to focus on reading and basic skills; the programs in the white schools are more often enrichment programs in art, music, and the like. These data must be interpreted with some care, however, since there is some variability in what principals defined as special programs.

49. Rogers, *110 Livingston Street*, *op. cit*., pp. 6-7, 305-323, 395-428.

50. Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., pp. 90-101.

51. Parsons, "Community School Movement," *op cit*.; Parsons, "Community Control Across the Nation," *op. cit*.; and Gittell, "The Community School in the Nation," *op. cit.*

52. For instance, see Grace Rotzel, *The School in Rose Valley: A Parent Venture in Education* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971).

53. Gittell and Hollander, op. cit.; Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit.; Zimet, op. cit.

54. Zimet, op. cit.

55. Gittell and Hollander, op. cit., pp. 196-201.

56. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., pp. 83-85, 101-108, and 180.

57. Gittell and Hollander, op. cit., pp. 196-201.

58. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., p. 57.

59. The classic example is Jonathan Kozol's, Death at an Early Age: The Destruction of the Hearts and Minds of Negro Children in the Boston Schools (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967). The theme of teachers' negative expectations for their students, and the operation of a self-fulfilling prophecy, was sounded in Kenneth Clark's, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), Chapter 6, and in the earlier version of this publication by HARYOU (Harlem Youth Development), Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change (New York: HARYOU-ACT, 1964). The often-cited classic research on this question is Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupils' Intellectual Development (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968). However, the methodological weaknesses of this study are serious, and efforts to replicate these results have been inconclusive. For a good critique, see R. L. Thorndike's review of Rosenthal and Jacobson in the American Educational Research Journal, 5 (November 1968), pp. 708-711.

60. For a description of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district staff, see Wielk, "Ocean Hill-Brownsville Project: A Profile," op. cit., p. 11. For descriptions of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville teachers, see: Ibid., pp. 12-13; Parsons, "Community School Movement," op. cit., pp. 21, 31; and Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., pp. 89-90.

61. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., p. 90.

62. For instance, see: Ibid., p. 66; and Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., p. 116.

63. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., p. 93.

64. Ibid., pp. 78, 82.

65. For instance, see: Parsons, "Community School Movement," op. cit., p. 33; Schwartz and Saxl, op. cit., pp. 36-37; Lauter, op.cit.; and Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., p. 94.

66. On the use of volunteers, see: Gittell, Community School in the Nation," op. cit., pp. 5, 7; Parsons, "Community School Movement,"

op. cit., p. 33; Schwartz and Saxl, op. cit.; Lauter, op. cit.; and M. R. Berube, "Volunteers in the Classroom," Community, 3 (September/October 1970), pp. 2-3. On the use of community residents as resources, see Parsons, "Community School in the Nation," op. cit., especially his description of the Rough Rock project, p. 25. On new staff deployment patterns, see Parsons, "Community School in the Nation," op. cit., especially descriptions of the community agents in the Woodlawn project, pp. 7-8, 33.

67. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., p. 128.

68. In Detroit, only one of the eight regional superintendents was refused reappointment by the newly elected regional boards under that city's version of decentralization. According to William R. Grant, Education Editor of the Detroit Free Press, this minimal change occurred despite the fact that five of the eight were "generally" considered incompetent. Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, 1972.

69. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., p. 140; and Zimet, op. cit.

70. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., pp. 114-118, 123-146.

71. Ibid., pp. 138-143, especially p. 143. According to the law, schools that rank in the bottom 45% of the city on annually tested reading achievement may hire teachers who are not on the city's eligible lists if they have state certification and if they passed the National Teachers Examination.

72. Ibid., pp. 140-141.

73. Ibid., p. 142.

74. For references, see Chapter I, footnotes 2-6.

75. For instance, see: "Why We Are Not Participating in the Local School Board Elections," An Open Letter From Evelina Antonetty, Executive Director of United Bronx Parents, Reprinted in Community, 2 (April 1970), p. 405.

76. For the level of effectiveness of this boycott, see: district turnout statistics in United Parents Association, "Analysis of Elections for Community School Boards," op. cit.; and Berube, "School Elections: Analysis and Interpretation," op. cit.; Demas, op. cit., p. 35. Note especially the low 4.9% turnout in the district including Ocean Hill-Brownsville and the turnouts from 5.6% to 9.8% in districts 4, 5, and 7 where the boycott was active. However, other low income nonwhite districts where there was minimal boycott activity also had equally low turnouts (e.g., Districts 2, 3, 9, 13, 16, and 17) and some districts where there was considerable boycott activity had higher turnouts (e.g., Districts 8 and 14).

77. Remarks by Walter Degnan, President of the Council of Supervisory Associations, in the media, especially on television panel and interview shows.

78. For instance, see: Emanuel Perlmutter, "Decentralization of Schools Fails, Kenneth Clark Says," New York Times, May 8, 1971; Francis X. Clines, "Clark Asks a Curb in Decentralizing," New York Times, November 30, 1972; and Francis X. Clines, "City Charter Commission Told Decentralization Fails Uptown," New York Times, December 12, 1972.

79. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit.; Demas, op. cit.; Gittell, "New York City School Decentralization," op. cit., pp. 1-2.

80. Demas, op. cit.

81. See: Sayre and Kaufman, op. cit.; Strayer and Yavner, op. cit.; State Education Department, Historical Review, op. cit.; Temporary Commission on City Finances, op. cit.; Gittell, Participants and Participation, op. cit.

82. Women's City Club, Strengthen or Abolish? op. cit.; and Women's City Club, Performance and Promise, op. cit.

83. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

84. Ibid., pp. 14-15, 17-27.

85. Ibid., pp. 30-31.

86. Ibid., p. 29; also see: United Parents Association, "Analysis of Elections for Community School Boards," op. cit.; Berube, "School Elections: Analysis and Interpretation," op. cit., pp. 1-6; and Demas, op. cit., p. 35.

87. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., pp. 40-49.

88. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., pp. 8-25.

89. Ibid., p. 14; Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., pp. 49-50; and "Comparative Profile of Local School Board Members," Community, 3 (November 1971), p. 4.

90. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

91. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., pp. 15, 19, 23-25, 30.

92. Demas, op. cit., p. 40; Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., pp. 12-43.

93. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., p. 30.

94. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, pp. 57-60, especially p. 60.

95. Only a small fraction of this difference can be explained by the differential on another potentially curriculum-related category, "use of Title I funds." Here, the percentages provided favored the nonwhite districts, 56% to 44%.

96. My calculations from the ICS data in Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., p. 60 are as follows. Adding the categories labelled "recruit teachers," "hiring practices and procedures," "granting tenure," "teacher transfer," "appointments," "criteria to select personnel," and "outside personnel," then:

	Nonwhite	White
N	101	112
%	360.6	333.4

97. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., pp. 25, 29, 30.

98. Ibid., p. 30.

99. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., p. 57.

100. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., pp. 8-12, 77-82, 88-89.

101. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., pp. 61-72. A similar point about deference to professionals was made in William Grant's remarks about Detroit at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, 1972.

102. This is District 6, the Washington Heights section of Manhattan. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., pp. 72-76.

103. For instance, districts that are comparable in the low incomes of their residents receive large appropriations for employment of community residents as paraprofessionals.

104. Zimet, op. cit.

105. Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," op. cit., pp. 11-14; Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., pp. 9, 47-50; Gittell, "Community Control of Education," op. cit., pp. 72-73; Gittell, "The Community and Its Schools," op. cit., p. 247; Gittell, "Community School in the Nation," op. cit., pp. 6-7; Gittell, "Urban School Politics: Professionalism vs. Reform," op. cit., p. 77; Gittell, "Urban School Reform in the 1970's," op. cit.; Gittell and Hevesi, op. cit., p. 11; and Spier, "Two Bridges Model School District: A Profile," op. cit., p. 8.

106. This is the predominant usage in: Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*.; and Gittell *et al*., *School Decentralization and School Policy*, *op. cit*.

107. Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," *op. cit*., pp. 17, 20-24; Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., pp. 11-12, 52, 55-58, 60; Parsons, "Community School Movement," *op. cit*., especially p. 25; Gittell, "Community Control of Education," *op. cit*., pp. 72-73; and Gittell, "Urban School Politics: Professionalism vs. Reform," *op. cit*., p. 77.

108. Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., pp. 7-12, especially p. 7.

109. *Ibid*., p. 7.

110. *Ibid*., pp. 7-8.

111. These other sources are: the Honest Ballot Association, the New York City Board of Elections, and the United Parents Association.

112. Gittell, "Community Control of Education," *op. cit*., pp. 72-73.

113. Gittell, "The Community and Its Schools," *op. cit*., p. 247; Gittell, "Community School in the Nation," *op. cit*., pp. 6-7; Gittell, "Urban School Politics: Professionalism vs. Reform," *op. cit*., p. 77; Gittell, "Urban School Reform in the 1970's," *op. cit*.; Gittell and Hevesi, *op. cit*., p. 11. Greater specificity is provided on the Two Bridges project in Spier, "Two Bridges Model School District: A Profile," *op. cit*., p. 8. Spier indicates here that as many as 200 parents attended governing board meetings and that there was also good attendance at workshops on educational issues run by settlement houses and other agencies. For similar descriptive data about Detroit under decentralization, see Moore and Johnston, *op. cit*., p. 441, who say that turnout at board meetings during the first year of decentralization was greater than in the entire previous ten years. Other comments indicating greater public turnout at regional and central board meetings in Detroit were included in Remarks by A. Johnson, Assistant Superintendent of the Detroit Public Schools, at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, 1972.

114. The sources for these statistics are: Niemeyer *et al*., *Final Report*, *op. cit*., Chapter III, pp. 16, 18; and Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., p. 9. A turnout figure of 50% for Two Bridges is cited in two sources, but this is probably an error. These two sources are: Gittell, "Community Control of Education," *op. cit*., pp. 72-73; and Gittell, "Community School in the Nation," *op. cit*., p. 6. Other mention of voting turnout statistics, in quantitative or qualitative form, are included in Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, *op. cit*., p. 170; Gittell, "Community Control of Education," *op. cit*., pp. 72-73; Gittell, "The Community and Its Schools," *op. cit*., p. 247; Gittell, "Community School in the Nation," *op. cit*., p. 6; Gittell, "Urban School Politics: Professionalism vs. Reform," *op. cit*., p. 77;

Gittell, "Urban School Reform in the 1970's," op. cit., and Gittell and Hevesi, op. cit., p. 11.

115. This is asserted in Gittell, "Community Control of Education," op. cit., pp. 72-73; and Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," op. cit., pp. 12-13; and seems reasonable in light of the pattern of evidence on political participation in low-income communities.

116. United Parents Association, "Analysis of Elections for Community School Boards," U.P.A. Newsletter, op. cit.; and Berube, "School Elections: Analysis and Interpretation," op. cit., pp. 1-6.

117. On the Anacostia turnout, see Parsons, "Community School Movement," op. cit., p. 44. On Detroit, see Moore and Johnston, op. cit., p. 442, but note that they attribute the low Detroit turnout to confusion and to mismanagement of the election.

118. Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," op. cit. Much of this information was reprinted in Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., Chapter II, pp. 44-65.

119. Although the 1968 survey commissioned by the Niemeyer Committee includes data that can be used for baseline comparisons with many of Gottfried's items, the Niemeyer survey did not include any questions about parents' participation in school affairs. Therefore, we have no baseline participation data for the district.

120. For instance, see Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant: An Area Study (New York: The Center for Urban Education, 1967). However, even this study fails to provide much participation data, and none on participation in school affairs.

121. Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," op. cit., pp. 11-14; Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., Chapter II, pp. 47-50.

122. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., pp. 49-50, 74-76; and "Comparative Profile of Local Board Members," Community, op. cit., p. 4.

123. Ibid., p. 70; Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., pp. 11, 23; Spier, "Why Two Bridges Failed," op. cit., pp. 1-3.

124. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., pp. 67-70.

125. For instance, contrast Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., especially p. 25, with Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., especially p. 57.

126. Contrast Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., pp. 26-28, with Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., pp. 64-67.

127. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., pp. 125-146.

128. Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit., p. 134.

129. Ibid., pp. 60, 125-146 describe the community role in interviewing and appointing principals in a few districts. Our personal contacts suggest that there is also an extensive and significant PA role in some other districts not mentioned in the ICS report.

130. Ibid., pp. 144-145.

131. Ibid., pp. 143-146.

132. Ibid., pp. 62-64, 135.

133. Ibid., p. 146.

134. For instance, see project descriptions in Parsons, "Community School Movement," op. cit.

135. This committee, headed by John H. Niemeyer, President of Bank Street College of Education, was appointed by the city Board of Education in 1967 at the time the demonstration districts were created and early phases of citywide administrative decentralization went into effect. The committee was to report back to the Board, by July 30th, 1968, its findings about this first year of demonstration district status and administrative decentralization. The panel was also to make recommendations for changes to improve the functioning of decentralization and the demonstration districts.

136. The survey was conducted by the Sarah Lawrence College Institute for Community Studies in cooperation with Louis Harris Associates. This Institute for Community Studies should not be confused with the Queens College ICS discussed throughout this manuscript. The Executive Director of the Niemeyer Committee staff was Bert E. Swanson of the Sarah Lawrence ICS. The Staff Assistant working on the study was Carol Wielk, who later joined the Queens College ICS and became its participant observer in Ocean Hill-Brownsville.

The survey data, analyzed to deal with different questions, were presented in two different publications. The tabulations for the total sample, for each demonstration district, and for each racial group are presented in Niemeyer et al., Final Report, op. cit., Chapter IV, "The 'Demonstration Project' Parents Assess Their Schools." The survey data for each district were further broken down to show separate tabulations on each item for respondents favoring more or less community influence in school affairs. These tabulations are presented in: Swanson, Cortin, and Main, "Parents in Search of Community Influence in the Public Schools," op. cit.

137. This study was conducted by Frances Gottfried and the Queens College ICS Staff in cooperation with the National Opinion Research Center.

The data were presented in two ICS publications: Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," *op. cit.*; Gittell *et al.*, *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit.*, Chapter II, pp. 44-65.

138. Niemeyer *et al.*, *Final Report*, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV, p. 16; Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22, 24; Gittell *et al.*, *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit.*, Chapter II, pp. 55-57, 60.

139. Niemeyer *et al.*, *Final Report*, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV, p. 16; Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," *op. cit.*, p. 23; Gittell *et al.*, *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit.*, Chapter II, p. 58.

140. Over the course of its three-year existence, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board hired the unit administrator, all eight of the district's principals, and 85-90% of the district's teachers. The remaining 10-15% of the teachers had been employed in the district prior to its demonstration status and chose to remain in the district rather than take the available option to voluntarily transfer to other districts. The option was specially arranged by the teachers union when the demonstration districts were created, according to the New York Civil Liberties Union "The Burden of Blame," *op. cit.* The above figures on the percentage of the district's teachers hired by the governing board are given in: Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25; Gittell *et al.*, *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit.*, Chapter II, p. 60.

141. The possible responses were worded differently in the two surveys. We have placed the 1968 wording of the response categories in the text, with the 1970 phrasing in parentheses. For instance, instead of simply saying "parents," in 1970 this was further specified as "what *most* parents want"; and the response "influentials" was further specified and changed a bit in 1970 as "what only *some* parents want."

142. Niemeyer *et al.*, *Final Report*, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV, p. 18; Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23; Gittell *et al.*, *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit.*, Chapter II, pp. 56-58.

143. Gottfried, "Survey for Parental Views," *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 22; Gittell *et al.*, *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit.*, Chapter II, pp. 52, 57.

144. For instance, see: Parsons, "Community School Movement," *op. cit.*, especially p. 25; Gittell and Hevesi, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Gittell *et al.* *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12; and Gittell, "Urban School Politics: Professionalism vs. Reform," *op. cit.*, p. 77.

145. Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," *op. cit.*, p. 17; Gittell *et al.*, *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit.*, Chapter II, p. 52.

146. For instance, see the strongly positive data about school officials reported in the public opinion data discussed in Chapter VIII, footnote 22.

147. Niemeyer et al., Final Report, op. cit., Chapter IV, p. 9; Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," op. cit., p. 28; Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., Chapter II, p. 63.

Unfortunately, these findings and those documented in footnote 148 require certain qualifications. Although the questions asked of respondents were quite similar in 1968 and 1970, the response choices were not precisely the same. In both publications, the data on these items are reported in the collapsed categories "positive," "negative," and "not sure." And the original response choices collapsed into "positive" and "negative" in these tables are not quite the same in the two surveys. In 1968, "positive" for these items refers to a rating of either "excellent" or "pretty good," while in 1970 the "positive" choices were a bit more moderate -- "very good" or "good." The "negative" choices on these items in 1968 were "only fair" or "poor." In 1970, the available choices were "poor" or "very poor."

Experience with public opinion surveys suggests that relatively few people tend to give responses in the extreme categories (either because their opinions are moderate, or because they feel more moderate choices are socially desirable and therefore the more suitable response to give the interviewer). Therefore, the wording of the choices toward the middle of the continuum is critical. "Only fair" can be interpreted as representing an attitude toward the middle of the continuum, rather than as a degree of negative rating. Use of "excellent" as the first response gradation places such a high evaluation on the positive ratings the respondent hears that even "pretty good," the next choice in the 1968 items, seems to represent a strongly positive evaluation, and "fair" may be chosen to reflect the lowest gradation of "good" or at least not "bad." If we are correct, then "poor" is the only truly negative category. Unfortunately, the data are reported in collapsed form only, making it impossible for us to determine how large a proportion of the "negative" ratings in 1968 were in fact responses of "fair." The greater percentage of positive responses in the 1970 survey may simply reflect the absence of the "only fair" category, and the selection of "good" rather than "poor" by people who want to indicate a low level of good, but are unwilling to select a choice as negative as "poor." The response gradations used in the 1970 survey are more balanced and more easily interpretable, and therefore perhaps improve the quality of the information we can derive from the data. However, while improving the wording, the changes in the 1970 survey impaired the comparability of the two data sets.

The change in wording and collapsing of categories was not consistently followed throughout the 1970 study. On the series of items tapping parents' evaluations of district personnel (see citation in footnote 148), the 1968 "negative" categories are used again in 1970 and the data are reported separately for the "only fair" and "poor" ratings. Examination of these data suggests that few respondents selected the response "poor"for any item, larger percentages selected "only fair," and there was a sizeable increase in "positive" ratings. Therefore, the problem discussed here may not be serious, and the increased percentages of "positive" ratings in 1970 may indeed reflect a positive shift in feeling

148. Niemeyer *et al*., *Final Report*, *op. cit*., Chapter IV, pp. 11, 14; Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," *op. cit*., pp. 19, 24; Gittell *et al*. *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., Chapter II, pp. 54, 60.

149. Niemeyer *et al*., *Final Report*, *op. cit*., Chapter IV, p. 7; Gottfried, "Survey of Parental Views," *op. cit*., p. 17; Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., Chapter II, p. 52.

150. Andrews and Noack, *op. cit*.

151. Gittell *et al*., *Demonstration for Social Change*, *op. cit*., pp. 23-25, 31-43.

152. *Ibid*., p. 95.

CHAPTER IV

1. For instance, see: Alice M. Rivlin, Systematic Thinking for Social Action (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1971); Peter H. Rossi, "Practice, Method, and Theory in Evaluating Social Action Programs," in On Fighting Poverty: Perspectives from Experience, James L. Sundquist, ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1969), pp. 217-234; and Peter H. Rossi, "Testing for Success and Failure in Social Action," in Evaluating Social Programs, Theory, Practice, and Politics, Peter H. Rossi and Walter Williams, eds. (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), pp. 11-49.

2. For instance, see: Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, op. cit.; Moynihan, "The Professors and the Poor," op. cit.; Miller, "The Elimination of the American Lower Class as a National Policy," op. cit.; Ellis and Orleans, "Race Research: 'Up Against the Wall,' in More Ways than One," op. cit.; and Elinor Graham, "The Politics of Poverty," in Poverty as a Public Issue, Ben B. Seligman, ed. (New York: Free Press, 1965), pp. 231-250, especially pp. 242-243. Although there seems to be some disagreement over whether the fuzzy thinking attributed to social scientists during these years was actually the cogitation of full-fledged academic social scientists or simply the fancying of government staff people and foundation officials whose imaginations had been captured by social science ideas, Miller pointed out that the "slogans, code words, and value-ladden concepts " he cited as the poverty ideology were taken from scholarly articles and not from speeches of government officials and the like. Miller, "The Elimination of the Lower Class as a National Policy," op. cit., p. 307.

3. Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, op. cit., especially pp. 168-171, 188-191; Miller, "The Elimination of the American Lower Class as a National Policy," op. cit.

4. For instance, see Marilyn Gittell, "Moynihan's Misunderstanding," Community, 3 (November 1970), pp. 5-8.

5. Miller, "The Elimination of the American Lower Class as a National Policy," op. cit., p. 306.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. The UFT (New York City teachers' union) had initially been favorable to the idea of decentralization when the topic first received serious consideration in the mid-'60s. It was assumed by the union that this would mean an expanded role for teachers in school decisionmaking. However, the union became so antagonized by the developments that followed between 1966 and 1969 that it became the strongest foe of radical system restructuring (decentralization with a measure of community control). The union lobbied vigorously against those decentralization plans that involved the most extensive system restructuring

and succeeded in first getting action delayed for a year and then getting a moderate bill passed.

9. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*, *op. cit.*; Moynihan, "The Professors and the Poor," *op. cit.*; Miller, "The Elimination of the American Lower Class as National Policy," *op. cit.*

10. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*, *op. cit.*; Peter Marris and Martin Rein, *Dilemmas of Social Reform: Poverty and Community Action in the United States* (New York: Atherton Press, 1967, 1969), p. 1; S. M. Miller and Martin Rein, "The War on Poverty: Perspectives and Prospects," in *Poverty as a Public Issue*, Seligman, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 292-293; James L. Sundquist, "Origins of the War on Poverty," in *On Fighting Poverty*, Sundquist, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 9; Sar. A. Levitan, *The Great Society's Poor Law: A New Approach to Poverty* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), pp. 81-82; and Nathan Glazer, "The Grand Design of the Poverty Program," in *Poverty: Power and Politics*, Chaim I. Waxman, ed. (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1968) p. 285.

11. For instance, see: Martin Rein, "Institutional Change: A Priority in Welfare Planning," in *Poverty: Power and Politics*, Waxman, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 293-302; Frank Riessman, *Strategies Against Poverty* (New York: Random House, 1969), p. vii; and Charles E. Silberman, "The Mixed-up War on Poverty," in *Poverty: Power and Politics*, Waxman, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 87.

12. Marris and Rein, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Richard A. Cloward, "The War on Poverty - Are the Poor Left Out?" in *Poverty: Power and Politics*, Waxman, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169; Maxine Kenny and Barbara Ehrenreich, "Health: The Community Mental Health Center Controversy," in *Race and Politics in New York City*, Bellush and David, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 196; and Edward T. Rogowsky, Louis H. Gold, and David W. Abbott, "Police: The Civilian Review Board Controversy," in *Race and Politics in New York City*, Bellush and David, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 196.

13. For a good presentation of this argument, see Stephen M. David and Jewel Bellush, "Introduction: Pluralism, Race, and the Urban Political System," in *Race and Politics in New York City*, Bellush and David, eds., *op. cit.*

14. For presentations and critiques of the opportunity structure argument, see: Marris and Rein, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2; Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*, *op. cit.*; Miller, "The Elimination of the American Lower Class as a National Policy," *op. cit.*, pp. 280-285; John G. Wofford, "The Politics of Local Responsibility: Administration of the Community Action Program - 1964-1966," in *On Fighting Poverty*, Sundquist, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 71, 74; Lee Rainwater, "The Problem of Lower-Class Culture and Poverty-War Strategy," in *On Understanding Poverty*, Moynihan, ed., *op.cit.*, pp. 249-50; and Alvin L. Schorr, "Policy Issues in Fighting Poverty," in *Poverty in the Affluent Society*, Hanna H. Meissner, ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 214.

15. See especially Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1963).

16. For an interesting analysis of the transformation from a political system with power based in geographic wards to occupational groups, see Iannaccone and Wiles, op. cit.

17. For presentations and critiques of the poverty culture concept, see: Harrington, The Other America, op. cit., pp. 120, 130-135, 173-175; Elizabeth Herzog, "Is There a Culture of Poverty?" in Poverty in the Affluent Society, Meissner, ed., op. cit.; Joseph Froomkin, "The Poor Program," in Poverty: Power and Politics, Waxman, ed., op. cit., p. 218; Joseph Bensman and Emanuel Tobier, "Anti-Poverty Programming: A Proposal," in Poverty: Power and Politics, Waxman, ed., op. cit., pp. 262-263; Moynihan, "The Professors and the Poor," op. cit., p. 23; Miller, "The Elminiation of the American Lower Class as a National Policy," op. cit.; Rossi and Blum, "Class, Status, and Poverty," op. cit., pp. 56-57; Gans, "Culture and Class in the Study of Poverty," op. cit., pp. 207, 212-216.

18. Harrington, The Other America, op. cit., pp. 155-156, 173-175, 185. For a critique of this concept, see Miller, "The Elimination of the American Lower Class as a National Policy," op. cit.

19. Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, op. cit., pp. 138-139; Marris and Rein, op. cit., pp. 17, 93, 225; Harrington, The Other America, op. cit., pp. 155-156, 185, 189; and Froomkin, "The Poor Program," op. cit., p. 218.

20. Wofford, "The Politics of Local Responsibility," op. cit., p. 73.

21. Moynihan, "The Professors and the Poor," op. cit., p. 9.

22. Bensman and Tobier, op. cit., pp. 262-266; Moynihan, "The Professors and the Poor," op. cit., p. 9; and Miller and Rein, op. cit., pp. 282-283.

23. On the origins of the community action concept, e.g., see: Daniel P. Moynihan, "What is Community Action?" Public Interest, #2 (Fall 1966), pp. 3-8; Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, op. cit.; Adam Yarmolinsky, "The Beginnings of OEO," in On Fighting Poverty, Sundquist, ed., op. cit., pp. 34-51.

24. For instance, see: James L. Sundquist, "The End of the Experiment?" in On Fighting Poverty, Sundquist, ed., op. cit., pp. 237-238; Roger H. Davidson, "The War on Poverty: Experiment in Federalism," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 385 (September 1969), pp. 1-13; Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, op. cit., pp. 131-132; Marris and Rein, op. cit.; Waxman, Poverty: Politics and Power, op. cit., p. xii; Charles E. Silberman, "The Mixed-up War on Poverty," op. cit., pp. 82-83, 88, 90; Bertram M. Beck, "How Do We Involve the Poor?" in Poverty: Politics and Power, Waxman, ed., op. cit., pp. 270-271; Richard A. Cloward, "The War on Poverty - Are the Poor Left Out?" op. cit., p. 161; Levitan, The Great Society's Poor Law, op. cit., pp. 88, 109, 131; Bellush and David, eds., Race and Politics in New York City, op. cit., p. 48;

Melvin B. Mogulof, Citizen Participation: A Review and Commentary on Federal Policies and Practices (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1970), pp. 1, 9; and Daniel M. Fox, "Federal Standards and Regulations for Participation," in Citizen Participation: Effecting Community Change, Edgar S. Cahn and Barry A. Passett, eds. (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 137.

25. Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit., pp. 1-4.

26. Robert S. Weiss and Martin Rein, "The Evaluation of Broad-Aim Programs: A Cautionary Case and a Moral," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 385 (September 1969), pp. 133-141; and Robert S. Weiss and Martin Rein, "The Evaluation of Broad-Aim Programs: Difficulties in Experimental Design and an Alternative," in Evaluating Action Programs: Readings in Social Action and Education, Carol H. Weiss, ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1972), pp. 236-249.

27. For instance, see collections of articles in: Weiss, ed., Evaluating Action Programs, op. cit.; Peter H. Rossi and Walter Williams, eds., Evaluating Social Programs: Theory, Practice, and Politics (New York: Seminar Press, 1972); and Francis G. Caro, ed., Readings in Evaluation Research (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971); and also Rivlin, op. cit.

28. See annual convention programs of these associations for the late 1960's and early 1970's. Few if any papers or seminars are devoted to decentralization or community control or topics even peripherally related to these strategies.

29. The author writes from personal experience here. Despite repeated attempts, I was unable to gain access to the Ocean Hill-Brownsville project for two different research enterprises. One of these was a proposal for my own doctoral research under the auspices of the Harvard University Graduate School of Education. A second was requested by staff of the Ford Foundation to fulfill its internal reporting needs at a time when Ford Foundation money was supporting the project. Despite Ford Foundation auspices for the research, Ocean Hill administrators refused to provide either the requested information or the access needed for us to gather the information outselves.

30. For a good discussion of such inherent conflicts, see Marris and Rein, op. cit.

31. For a discussion of this, see the article by Taylor in Orleans and Ellis, op. cit.

32. We know of only two evaluation studies of the decentralization experiments that were commissioned by the city Board of Education or the state legislature. See: Niemeyer et al., Final Report, op. cit.; and Gittell et al., School Decentralization and School Policy, op. cit. (the latter was commissioned by the Fleischman Commission rather than the legislature itself).

33. Altshuler, op. cit.

34. Cohen and Smith, op. cit.

35. Levin, ed., Community Control of Schools, op. cit.

36. David K. Cohen, "Politics and Research: Evaluation of Social Action Programs in Education," Review of Educational Research, 40 (April 1970), pp. 213-238.

37. Rivlin, op. cit.; Walter Williams, Social Policy Research and Analysis: The Experience in the Federal Agencies (New York: American Elsevier, 1971); and Robert A. Levine, "Evaluating the War on Poverty," in On Fighting Poverty, Sundquist, ed., op. cit., pp. 188-216.

PART II

CHAPTER V

1. It should be noted that this no-conflict assumption was even held where there might have been an inherent value conflict between school and community, as in immigrant communities. Yet even in these cases, educators assumed a oneness of values and defined their task as "Americanizing" the immigrants.

2. For instance, see: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Building Public Confidence in the Schools (Washington, D.C.: ASCD, NEA, 1949); Gene C. Fusco, School-Home Partnership in Depressed Urban Neighborhoods (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1964); J. E. Grinnell and Raymond J. Young, The School and the Community: Educational and Public Relations (New York: Ronald Press, 1955), especially pp. 121-122; and National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, How Can We Organize for Better Schools? A Guidebook for Citizens' Committees (New York: The Commission, 1953). Others who have commented on this include Nathalie S. Friedman, Observability in School Systems: A Problem of Inter-System Integration (New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1968), p. 207. Also see: Dale Mann, Public Relations as Community Control in Urban Education, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1972; Joe L. Rempson, "School Parent Programs in Depressed Urban Neighborhoods," in The Urban R's: Race Relations as the Problem in Urban Education, Robert A. Dentler, Bernard Mackler, and Ellen Warshauer, eds. (New York: Praeger, 1967), p. 207. This set of assumptions has also served as the basis for some educational research. For instance, see the following research reports by Richard F. Carter, Voters and Their Schools (Palo Alto: Institute for Communications Research, Stanford University, 1960), p. 62; Richard F. Carter et al., The Structure and Process of School-Community Relations (Palo Alto: Institute for Communications Research, Stanford University, 1966), Vol. I, p. 1 and Vol. V, pp. 53-54. On citizen advisory committees in particular, see: Grinnell and Young, op. cit., pp. 123-131; Luvern L. Cunningham and Raphael O. Nystrand, Citizen Participation in School Affairs (Washington, D.C.: Urban Coalition, 1969); and Herbert M. Hamlin, Citizens' Committees in the Public Schools (Danville, Illinois: Interstate Publishers, 1952).

3. For instance, see: Grinnell and Young, op. cit.; and Mann, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

4. For instance, see: Grinnell and Young, op. cit., pp. 3, 119; Mann, op. cit., pp. 8-9; Rempson, op. cit., pp. 130-133; and Mary Lou Sayler, Parents: Active Partners in Education (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1971).

5. For instance, see: Mann, op. cit., pp. 12-13; and John B. Whitelaw, The School and Its Community: A Guide for the Development of Dynamic School-Community Relations (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1951).

6. For a more recent analysis of this, see Norman D. Kerr, "The School Board as an Agency of Legitimation," in Governing Education, Rosenthal, ed., op. cit., pp. 137-172.

7. For instance, see: Grinnell and Young, op. cit.; Whitelaw, op. cit.; Hamlin, op. cit.; Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Building Public Confidence in the Schools, op. cit.; and Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, Citizens and Educational Policies (Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1951).

8. Mann, op. cit., especially p. 15.

9. We have been unable to locate documentation, but believe the phrase has been attributed to either H. Rap Brown or Stokeley Carmichael.

10. Sherry R. Arnstein, "Eight Rungs on the Ladder of Citizen Participation," in Citizen Participation: Effecting Community Change, Cahn and Passett, eds., op. cit., p. 71. Another similar statement that has become outdated in only a few years is to be found in Altshuler, op. cit., p. 14: "So long as it is endorsed without excessive zeal, participation ranks as a controversial issue with motherhood."

11. For instance, see Fusco, op. cit.

12. Arnstein, op. cit., p. 71.

13. Ibid., pp. 71-72; Melvin B. Mogulof, Citizen Participation: A Review and Commentary on Federal Policies and Practices (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1970), pp. 2, 10; Judith V. May, Citizen Participation: A Review of the Literature (Davis, California: Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California (Davis), 1971); and Ralph M. Kramer, Participation of the Poor: Comparative Community Case Studies in the War on Poverty (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

14. Mogulof, Citizen Participation: Review, op. cit., pp. 13-16.

15. On participation as representation inside a governing mechanism, see Melvin B. Mogulof, Citizen Participation: The Local Perspective (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1970), p. 68: what citizen participation is really about is "changing the composition of policy making bodies so that aggrieved elements of society have representation inside, where decisions affecting them are made ... [so that] the voice of community representatives is effectively heard."

16. Arnstein, op. cit.

17. Ibid., pp. 72, 78; and Kenneth B. Clark and Jeannette Hopkins, A Relevant War Against Poverty: A Study of Community Action Programs and Observable Social Change (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), pp. 247-248.

18. For interesting typologies, see: Arnstein, op. cit.; Kramer, op. cit.; May, op. cit.; Mogulof, Citizen Participation: Review, op. cit.; Mogulof, Citizen Participation: Local Perspective, op. cit.; Jon Van Til and Sally Bould Van Til, "Citizen Participation in Social Policy: The End of the Cycle?" Social Problems, 17 (Winter 1970); Daniel M.

Fox, "Federal Standards and Regulations for Participation," in Citizen Participation, Cahn and Passett, eds., op. cit.; and Irvin Lazar, "Which Citizens to Participate in What?" in ibid. Other writings that distinguish forms of participation include: Marshall, "Public Participation and the Politics of Poverty," op. cit., pp. 461-464; Earl Raab, "What War and Which Poverty?" in Poverty: Power and Politics, Waxman, ed., op. cit.; and Levitan, The Great Society's Poor Law, op. cit., pp. 117-118.

19. Arnstein, op. cit.

20. Mogulof wrote of the purpose of such participation as "creating cadres of anti-rioters." Mogulof, Citizen Participation: Review, op. cit., p. 9. For discussions of manipulation in urban renewal, in addition to Arnstein, see: Peter H. Rossi and Robert A. Dentler, The Politics of Urban Renewal (New York: Free Press, 1961); James Q. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 29 (November 1963), pp. 242-249, as reprinted in Citizen Participation in Urban Development, Hans B. C. Spiegel, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Center for Community Affairs, National Training Laboratories, Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1968), Vol. I, pp. 43-60; Francis F. Piven, "Participation of Residents in Neighborhood Community-Action Programs," in ibid., p. 115; and Van Til and Van Til, op. cit. Discussion of "engineering consent" can be found in Fox, op. cit., p. 136; Mogulof, Citizen Participation: Review, op. cit., p. 9; Harold Goldblatt, "Argument For and Against Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," in Citizen Participation in Urban Development, Spiegel, ed., op. cit., pp. 31, 32,34; and Philip Selznick, TVA and the Grassroots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization (New York: Harper & Row). For discussions of participation as a safety valve to manage discontent, or as cooptation, see: Race and Politics in New York City, Bellush and David, eds., op. cit., pp. 27-29, 52-53; and James L. Sundquist, "Origins of the War on Poverty," op. cit., p. 14.

21. PTAs have long served this purpose, as have most citizen committees in education. See: Joseph L. Falkson and Marc A. Grainer, Urban Bureaucracy and the Politicization of the Urban Poor: The Role of the Neighborhood School, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1969; Gittell, Participants and Participation, op. cit., p. 54; Gittell and Hollander, op. cit., p. 151; Dahl, Who Governs? op. cit., pp. 155-159; Pois, op. cit., pp. 124-145; Sayre and Kaufman, op. cit., p. 284; Grinnell and Young, op. cit., pp. 140-157; Carter et al., Structure and Process of School-Community Relations, op. cit., Vol. II; and Elliott Shapiro, "Improving School-Community Relations," in Conflicts in Urban Education, Sheldon Marcus and Harry N. Rivlin, eds. (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp. 96-97. Social action to build political constituencies is usually viewed as a step toward gaining citizen power or control, as in the community organizing efforts of the poverty program. However, it is also clear that such organizing may build a political constituency for an agency (e.g., OEO) or for a powerholder (e.g., Mayor Lindsay in New York City). Mention of this constituency-building purpose of

participation is made in Mogulof, Citizen Participation: Review, op. cit., pp. 1, 9, 93; Fox, op. cit., pp. 137-138; Goldblatt, op. cit., p. 34; and Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, op. cit.

22. For a classic statement of participation as therapy, see Lillian Rubin, "Maximum Feasible Participation: The Origins, Implications, and Present Status," in Evaluating the War on Poverty, Louis A. Ferman, ed., The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 385 (September 1969), p. 18. "Involve a man in successful and significant social action, give him a hand in decisions and institutions that affect his life, and he will soon develop psychological and social competence that will enable him to climb out of poverty." For other discussions of participation as therapy, either to enable the poor to lift themselves out of poverty or to increase the poor's stake in society, see: Altshuler, op. cit., p. 221; Edgar S. Cahn and Jean Camper Cahn, "Citizen Participation," in Citizen Participation in Urban Development, Spiegel, ed., op. cit., p. 222; Fox, op. cit., p. 136; Kramer, op. cit., pp. 269, 272-273; Marris and Rein, op. cit., especially pp. 67-70; Marshall, "Public Participation and the Politics of Poverty," op. cit.; Mogulof, Citizen Participation: Review, op. cit., pp. 9, 93; S. M. Miller, "Poverty, Race, and Politics," in Poverty: Power and Politics, Waxman, ed., op. cit., p. 152; Raab, op. cit., pp. 232-233; and Wilson, "Planning and Politics," op. cit., p. 48. For parent participation in Head Start discussed in terms of therapeutic purposes, see Levitan, Great Society's Poor Law, op. cit., p. 147. For a similarly oriented discussion of parent participation programs for poor neighborhoods, see Fusco, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

23. For critiques of participation as therapy on this and other grounds, see: Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Participation, op. cit., p. 188; Marris and Rein, op. cit., pp. 188-189; and Arthur Pearl, "The Poverty of Psychology - An Indictment," in Psychological Factors in Poverty, Vernon L. Allen, ed. (Chicago: Markham, 1970), p. 355.

24. For instance, see: Ellen Lurie, How to Change the Schools: A Parents' Action Handbook on How to Fight the System (New York: Random House, 1970); Saul Alinsky, Reveille for Radicals (New York: Random House, 1946); and Saul Alinsky, Rules for Radicals (New York: Random House, 1971).

25. For examples of these arguments, see: Cahn and Cahn, op. cit., pp. 220-221; Goldblatt, op. cit., p. 33; Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Citizen Participation Under the Workable Program for Community Improvement," in Citizen Participation in Urban Development, Spiegel, ed., op. cit., pp. 23-24, 26-27; Kramer, op. cit.; Verba, "Democratic Participation," op. cit.; and Van Til and Van Til, op. cit. Also see May, op. cit. for a review of works that conceive the purpose of participation as "adaptation," taking the goal as given but adapting the means to achieve it so as to insure political rationality.

26. For instance, the Model Cities Advisory and Planning Committees as

reviewed in Arnstein, op. cit. and Mogulof, Citizen Participation: Review, op. cit.

27. For instance, see Harold C. Edelston and Ferne K. Kolodner, "Are the Poor Capable of Planning for Themselves?" in Citizen Participation in Urban Development, Spiegel, ed., op. cit., pp. 229-230.

28. Cahn and Cahn, op. cit., p. 212.

29. This phrase is used by Richard A. Cloward and Francis Fox Piven in "The Urban Crisis and the Consolidation of National Power," in Urban Riots, Connery, ed., op. cit., p. 170. The same point about prepackaged national programs with the initiative concentrated in Washington is made in Rubin, op. cit.

30. Cloward and Piven, "The Urban Crisis and the Consolidation of National Power," op. cit., p. 169.

31. Edelston and Kolodner, op. cit., p. 226. Marshall makes the same point in describing her analysis of the community action agencies. She suggests that structural biases in the way these were set up by established interests assured the limited effects from participation of the poor in these agencies. Marshall, "Public Participation and the Politics of Poverty," op. cit., pp. 472-473.

32. For instance, see Antonetty, "Why We Are Not Participating in the Local School Board Elections," op. cit.

33. Demas, op. cit., especially pp. 3 and 31-32.

34. None of these "newer" forms are really new, but they are more prevalent now as a result of federally-sponsored educational programs. For discussions of the use of parents as volunteers and classroom aides in the 1950's, see: Sayler, op. cit.; and Fusco, op. cit. The long history of the "community school" idea is discussed in Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, op. cit. For a review of parent training programs for the poor before the 1960's, see Rempson, op. cit. For an analysis of participation in citizens' committees, see Hamlin, op. cit.

35. For descriptions and evaluations of the functioning of school paraprofessionals, see: Garda W. Bowman and Gordon J. Klopf, New Careers and Roles in the American School (New York: Bank Street College of Education, 1968); Henry M. Brickell, Carol B. Aslaman, and Barbara J. Heinzen, An In-Depth Study of Paraprofessionals in District Decentralized ESEA Title I and New York State Urban Education Projects in the New York City Schools (New York: Institute for Educational Develment, 1970); Inez Smith, Gilbert M. Trachtman, and Lawrence Balter, An Evaluation of a Program for the Recruitment, Training, and Employment of Auxiliary Non-Professional Neighborhood Personnel for Careers in the New York City Schools (New York: Center for Field Research and School Services, New York University School of Education, 1968); and Carl H. Rittenhouse, An Interpretive Study of the Use of Paraprofessional Aides in Education (Menlo Park: Stanford Research Institute,

1969). These evaluation reports do not reach any conclusions that interpret the status of paraprofessionals as members of the school establishment. This is our interpretation of the nature of the roles of paraprofessionals described in the reports, and specifically the roles they serve in school-community relations. In New York City, the success of the United Federation of Teachers in organizing paraprofessionals soon after the UFT had come to be viewed by many militant community leaders as the arch enemy of community interests seems to lend further support to the contention that paraprofessionals had come to function as part of the school establishment.

36. For instance, see Ira J. Gordon, Parent Involvement in Compensatory Education (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968); Milbrey McLaughlin, Parent Involvement in Compensatory Education Programs, Center for Educational Policy Research Reprint Series (Cambridge: Center for Educational Policy Research, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1972); Fusco, op. cit.,pp. 4-5, 13-14; Rempson, op. cit.; Levitan, Great Society's Poor Law, op. cit., p. 147; and Edith H. Grotberg, Review of Research, 1965 to 1969 (Washington, D.C.: Project Head Start, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1969).

37. Gordon, Parent Involvement in Compensatory Education, op. cit., p. 62, also pp. 27-29.

38. Ibid., p. 78. There are some exceptions to this generalization, e.g., the Center for Urban Education's Educational Leadership Development Program and to a lesser extent CUE's Parent Participation Workshops, and the few efforts that were made in New York City to train newly elected community school board members.

39. For instance, see: Mogulof, Citizen Participation: Review, op. cit.; and Levitan, Great Society's Poor Law, op. cit., p. 147; Jerome T. Murphy, "Title I of the ESEA: The Politics of Implementing Federal Education Reform," Harvard Educational Review, 41 (February 1971), pp. 35-63; and Tom Parmenter, "Power to the People Through Title I? Maybe," Inequality in Education, No. 6 (1970), pp. 1-8.

40. For instance, see Gittell, "Community Control in the Nation," op. cit.; and Parsons, "Community School Movement," op. cit.

CHAPTER VI

1. Perhaps the clearest example of this is in the political science and sociological studies of community power structures. A methodological debate raged throughout the late 1950's and early to mid 1960's among schools of thought referred to as elitists, pluralists, and neo-elitists. A significant part of the debate focused on the validity of using what are referred to as the reputational, decisional, and nondecisionmaking approaches to determining community power structures and the openness of the political process. For presentations of the reputational approach, see: Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); Robert Agger, "Power Attributions in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," *Social Forces*, 34 (May 1956), pp. 322-331; William V. D'Antonion and Eugene C. Erickson, "The Reputational Technique as a Measure of Community Power: An Evaluation Based on Comparative and Longitudinal Studies," *American Sociological Review*, 27 (June 1962), pp. 362-376; Roland J. Pellegrin and Charles H. Coates, "Absentee-Owned Corporations and Community Power Structure," *American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (March 1956), pp. 413-419; Robert O. Schulze and Leonard V. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," *American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (November 1957), pp. 290-296; and Delbert C. Miller, "Decision-Making Cliques in an American and an English City," *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (November 1958), pp. 299-310. For critiques of the reputational approach and presentations of the pluralists' decisional approach, see: Herbert Kaufman and Victor Jones, "The Mystery of Power," *Public Administration Review*, 14 (Summer 1954), pp. 205-212; Robert A. Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," *American Political Science Review*, 52 (June 1958), pp. 463-469; Robert A. Dahl, *Modern Political Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963); Nelson W. Polsby, "How to Study Community Power: The Pluralist Alternative," *Journal of Politics*, 22 (August 1960), pp. 474-484; Nelson W. Polsby, *Community Power and Political Theory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963); and Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of Community Power," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (October 1960), pp. 636-644. For critiques of the decisional approach and presentations of the nondecisionmaking approach, see: Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Two Faces of Power," *American Political Science Review*, 56 (December 1962), pp. 947-952; Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Decisions and Non-decisions: An Analytical Framework," *American Political Science Review*, 57 (September 1963), pp. 632-642; Peter Bachrach, *The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1967); Peter Bachrach, *Nondecision Making and the Urban Racial Crisis*, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1969; and Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, *Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970). For a critique of this position, see: Richard M. Merelman, "On the Neo-Elitist Critique of Community Power," *American Political Science Review*, 62 (June 1968), pp. 451-460. For the reply by Bachrach and Baratz, and then a rejoinder by Merelman, see *American Political Science Review*, 62 (1968), pp. 1268-1269. Also see: Thomas Anton, "Power, Pluralism and Local Politics," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 7 (March 1963), pp. 425-

457; a reply by Robert A. Dahl and rejoinder by Thomas Anton in Administrative Science Quarterly, 8 (September 1963), pp. 250-268. Also see: Robert Dahl, "Further Reflections on the Elitist Theory of Democracy," American Political Science Review, 11 (June 1966), pp. 296-305; Howard J. Ehrlich, "The Reputational Approach to the Study of Community Power," American Sociological Review, 26 (1961); Howard J. Ehrlich, "The Social Psychology of Reputations for Community Leadership," Sociological Quarterly, 8 (September 1967), pp. 514-530; William A. Gamson, "Reputation and Resources in Community Politics," American Journal of Sociology, 72 (September 1966), pp. 121-131; Linton C. Freeman, Thomas J. Fararo, Warner Bloomberg, Jr., and Morris H. Sunshine, "Locating Leaders in Local Communities: A Comparison of Some Alternative Approaches," American Sociological Review, 28 (October 1963), pp. 791-798; Jack L. Walker, "A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy," American Political Science Review, 60 (June 1966), pp. 286-295; and Raymond E. Wolfinger, "A Plea for a Decent Burial," American Sociological Review, 27 (December 1962), pp. 841-847.

2. For a good review of the evidence with regard to these questions, see Dale Rogers Marshall, "Who Participates in What? A Bibliographic Essay on Individual Participation in Urban Areas," Urban Affairs Quarterly, 4 (January 1969), pp. 201-223.

3. See references cited above in Chapter VI, footnote 1.

4. The neo-elitist critique and nondecisionmaking approach represent the latest phase in this debate. See references cited above in Chapter VI, footnote 1. Also see: Bellush and David., eds., Race and Politics in New York City, op. cit.; Gittell, Participants and Participation, op. cit.; and many of Gittell's articles in the community control advocacy literature (e.g., Gittell, "Urban School Politics: Professionalism vs. Reform," op. cit.).

5. Marshall raises these questions at the conclusion of her review article. Marshall, "Who Participates in What?" op. cit.

6. For instance, Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, op. cit., pp. 25-26, argue that data from the past and present do not take into account potentially significant changes such as the black pride movement. They say further, "The more radically future designs for education are drawn, the less proof they receive from past data that they have a chance to succeed." Cohen, in "The Price of Community Control," op. cit. notes that community control advocates do not regard evidence about what is now relevant to what might be. Altshuler, op. cit., p. 54 (footnote) illustrates this point by noting the under-organization of black communities compared to white neighborhoods prior to the civil rights movement (and, we might add, the community action agencies) and contrasting that to the reverse situation today: black communities tend to be better organized today than most white communities.

7. Marshall, "Public Participation and the Politics of Poverty," op. cit., p. 454.

8. For a good discussion of the limitations of survey research, see David K. Cohen, Review of Children and Their Primary Schools: Volume II in Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Spring 1968), pp. 329-340.

9. For instance, see: Eleanor Bernert Sheldon and Wilbert E. Moore, "Monitoring Social Change in American Society," in Indicators of Social Change: Concepts and Measurement, Eleanor Bernert Sheldon and Wilbert E. Moore, eds. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968), p. 5; Roland L. Warren, Types of Purposive Social Change at the Community Level (Waltham, Mass.: Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare, Brandeis University, 1965); and Robert A. Levine, "Evaluating the War on Poverty," in On Fighting Poverty: Perspectives from Experience, James L. Sundquist, ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1969), pp. 193-194.

10. Altshuler, op. cit., p. 190.

11. For examples of social scientists contending that their colleagues too frequently write from the perspective of what is rather than what ought to be, see: Cahn and Cahn, op. cit., p. 224; Gittell, "Community Control of Education," op. cit., p. 63; May, op. cit.; and Gans, "Culture and Class in the Study of Poverty," op. cit., p. 227.

12. Community control advocates, for instance, have argued that the New York City demonstration districts can hardly be considered fair tests of community control since: they never exercised complete control; they constantly had to fight political life and death struggles against those who tried to sabotage the experiments; and they existed for too short a period to have produced the kinds of fundamental social changes intended. (For one example of this argument, see Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, op. cit., p. xvi.)

Similarly, the history of community action suggests that these agencies were not well-financed, well-planned experiments, but financially starved and diluted efforts to meet the needs of an administration that wanted hundreds of these agencies across the nation in less than a year's time. (For this history, see, for instance, James L. Sundquist, Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1968); James L. Sundquist, ed., On Fighting Poverty: Perspectives from Experience (New York: Basic Books, 1969), especially James L. Sundquist, "Origins of the War on Poverty," pp. 6-33, and Adam Yarmolinsky, "The Beginnings of OEO," pp. 34-51.) Therefore, community action supporters argue, the CAA idea was not tested and shown to be a failure. Rather, it was implemented under such conditions that it was "guaranteed to fail," as contended in Marilyn Gittell, "Moynihan's Misunderstanding," Community, 3 (November 1970), pp. 5-8.

CHAPTER VII

1. See Chapter II.

2. Cohen and Smith, op. cit., Chapter V, pp. 100-143. For quoted passage, see p. 137.

3. See Coleman et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, op. cit. and the results of reanalyses of the EEOS data in Frederick Mosteller and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., On Equality of Educational Opportunity (New York: Vintage, 1972). Cohen and Smith were participants in the reanalyses reported in the latter volume and had at their disposal copies of all the EEOS data tapes.

4. Cohen and Smith, op. cit., pp. 105-113. For the authors' own qualifications about the use of these data for this particular purpose, see Cohen and Smith, op. cit., pp. 106-107. For at least one and perhaps two of the three measures used by Cohen and Smith, my reservations are even greater than theirs. The item "The parents put too much pressure on the students for good grades" and possibly the item "The parents don't take enough interest in their children's schoolwork" relate more to parent pressures on their children than pressures on school personnel. However, the overall results are consistent whether one uses the third item ("Parents attempt to interfere with the school") or either of these more troublesome items. Even the third item is not free from difficulties: teachers might feel that parental pressures of an "interfering" variety are not legitimate and therefore do not require teacher responsiveness. However, this measure does tap a feeling of pressure and would seem to be useful for the purposes Cohen and Smith had in mind so long as it is used with caution.

5. There is some evidence to suggest that this logic may be erroneous in at least some instances. Data presented by Wilder et al. suggest that where school personnel perceive lack of congruence between their views of how schools should function and parents' views on these matters, school personnel may actually take pride in this difference and feel no need to alter their behaviors. David E. Wilder, with Nathalie S. Friedman, Robert B. Hill, Eva Sandis, and Samuel D. Sieber, Actual and Perceived Consensus on Educational Goals Between School and Community (New York: Columbia University, Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1968).

6. Harriet Spivak, School Decentralization and Community Control: Policy in Search of a Research Agenda - Final Report: The School Legitimacy Study (New York: Center for Urban Education, 1973), Unpublished report prepared for the National Institute of Education. See Part III. For Cohen and Smith's discussion of the data and the results of their reanalysis, see Cohen and Smith, op. cit., pp. 113-115 and especially Appendices F and G.

7. The Plowden Report survey data were published as Children and Their Primary Schools: A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1967), 2 Volumes. The Acland reanalysis of the Plowden data on the association between parent participation and student achievement are reported in Henry D. Acland, "The Effects of Family Background: The Reanalysis of the Plowden Data," Appendix D of Cohen and Smith, op. cit. For the Cohen and Smith discussion of these data and the results of their own reanalysis, see Cohen and Smith, op. cit., pp. 115-116 and Appendix G.

8. Acland, "The Effects of Family Background," op. cit., p. D-30.

9. Cohen and Smith, op. cit., pp. 117-118 and Appendix G.

10. Ibid., pp. 104-105.

11. Ibid., p. 125.

12. Rosenthal and Jacobson, op. cit.

13. Cohen and Smith, op. cit., pp. 125-126.

14. Ibid., p. 119. The debate on the Coleman Report has included some disagreement on the significance of teacher effects on academic achievement, especially for low-income minority students. But overall, the conclusion that school inputs have little differential effect on student achievement seems warranted.

15. Ibid., p. 120.

16. Ibid., pp. 121-123.

17. For instance, see McLaughlin, op. cit.; Gordon, Parent Involvement in Compensatory Education, op. cit.; Rempson, op. cit.; and Grotberg, op. cit.

18. See Head Start studies reviewed in Grotberg, op. cit.

19. This point is made in Rempson, op. cit. and McLaughlin, op. cit.

20. This study was conducted over a four-year period in the Quincy, Illinois public schools. The study results were published in G. Liddle, R. Rockwell, and E. Sacadet, Education Improvement for the Disadvantaged in an Elementary Setting (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1967). The results were described in McLaughlin, op. cit., pp. E-32 through E-37.

21. See above discussion in this chapter and Acland, "The Effects of Family Background," op. cit.

22. The experimental program was the "Minimum Programme" recommended by the Central Advisory Council for Education, reported in the Plowden

Report (*Children and Their Primary Schools*, *op. cit*.), Vol. I, p. 43, as described in McLaughlin, *op. cit*., pp. E-30 and E-31.

23. This study, also conducted by the Central Advisory Council and reported in the Plowden Report (*Children and Their Primary Schools*, *op. cit*.), Vol. I, pp. 38-39, is described in McLaughlin, *op. cit*. pp. E-31, E-31A, and E-32.

24. The results of these two studies were published in Roger Duncan, "An Experimental Study of the Effect of Parents' Knowledge on School Performance in SMSG Mathematics," *Journal of Educational Research*, 58 (1964), pp. 135-137; and Herbert J. Schiff, "The Effect of Personal Contractural Relationships on Parents' Attitudes Toward and Participation in Local School Affairs" (Unpublished dissertation, Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1963). The results were described in Rempson, *op. cit*., p. 145.

25. Coleman *et al*., *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, *op. cit*., pp. 23, 288-290, 319-325. Also see Coleman,"Educational Dilemmas: Equal Schools or Equal Students," *op. cit*.

26. The earliest and most extensively studied form of this concept was the variable "internal-external control of reinforcements," generally identified with the work of Julian B. Rotter and his students. A review of this early literature was presented in Harried Kern (Spivak), *Internal-External Control of Reinforcements: A Review of Some Research* (Unpublished paper, Cambridge: Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1968). The most important early theoretical and empirical work on internal-external control is presented in J. B. Rotter, "Generalized Expectancies for Internal versus External Control of Reinforcement," *Psychological Monographs*, 80 (1966), pp. 1-28; W. H. James and J. B. Rotter, "Partial and 100 per cent Reinforcement under Chance and Skill Conditions," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 55 (1958), pp. 397-403; E. J. Phares, "Expectancy Changes in Skill and Chance Situations," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 54 (1957), pp. 339-342; E. J. Phares, "Internal-External Control as a Determinant of Amount of Social Influence Exerted," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 2 (1965), pp. 642-647; and J. B. Rotter, S. Liverant, and D. P. Crowne, "The Growth and Extinction of Expectancies in Chance Controlled and Skill Tests," *Journal of Psychology*, 52 (1961), pp. 161-177. For research on related versions of this concept, see: Esther S. Battle and Julian B. Rotter, "Children's Feelings of Personal Control as Related to Social Class and Ethnic Group," *Journal of Personality*, 31 (1963), pp. 482-490; Irv Bailer, "Conceptualization of Success and Failure in Mentally Retarded and Normal Children," *Journal of Personality*, 29 (1961), pp. 303-320; Virginia C. Crandall, Walter Katkovsky, and Vaughn J. Crandall, "Children's Beliefs in Their Own Control of Reinforcements in Intelectual-Academic Achievement Situations," *Child Development*, 36 (March 1965), pp. 91-109; Virginia J. Crandall, Walter Katkovsky, and Anne Preston, "A Conceptual Formulation for Some Research on Children's Achievement Development," *Child Development*, 31 (1960), pp. 787-797; Richard DeCharms, Virginia Carpenter, and Aharon Kuperman, "The

'Origin-Pawn' Variable in Person Perception," Sociometry, 28 (1965), pp. 241-258; Pearl M. Gore and Julian B. Rotter, "A Personality Correlate of Social Action," Journal of Personality, 31 (1963), pp. 58-64; Herbert M. Lefcourt, "Risk Taking in Negro and White Adults," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 2 (1965), pp. 765-770; Herbert M. Lefcourt and G. W. Ladwy, "The American Negro: A Problem in Expectancies," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 2 (1965), pp. 598-604; and Robert White, "Motivation Reconsidered: The Concept of Competence," Psychological Review, 66 (1959), pp. 297-333. For important recent refinements of the concept, especially as applied to poverty research, see: Patricia Gurin, Gerald Gurin, Rosina C. Lao, and Muriel Beattie, "Internal-External Control in the Motivational Dynamics of Negro Youth," Journal of Social Issues, 25 (Summer 1969), pp. 29-53; Gerald Gurin and Patricia Gurin, "Expectancy Theory in the Study of Poverty," Journal of Social Issues, 26 (Spring 1970), pp. 83-104; and John R. Forward and Jay R. Williams, "Internal and External Control and Black Militancy," Journal of Social Issues, 26 (Winter 1970), pp. 75-92.

27. For the most important early work on powerlessness as a dimension of alienation, see: Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," American Sociological Review, 24 (December 1959), pp. 783-791; Melvin Seeman and J. W. Evans, "Alienation and Learning in a Hospital Setting," American Sociological Review, 27 (1962), pp. 772-782; and Melvin Seeman, "Alienation and Social Learning in a Reformatory," American Journal of Sociology, 69 (1963), pp. 270-284.

28. Of particular relevance to demonstrating this relationship between internal-external control expectancies and social action, see Gore and Rotter, op. cit. That the situation is more complicated than was assumed in this piece of research, however, is indicated in more recent investigations. See Gurin and Gurin, op. cit.; Gurin, Gurin, Lao, and Beattie, op. cit.;Forward and Williams, op. cit.; and Louise E. Silvern and Charles Y. Nakamura, "Powerlessness, Social-Political Action, Social-Political Views: Their Interrelation Among College Students," Journal of Social Issues, 27 (1971), pp. 137-157.

29. For instance, see Lefcourt, "Risk Taking in Negro and White Adults," op. cit.; and Lefcourt, "The American Negro: A Problem in Expectancies," op. cit.

30. This latter point is suggested in Cohen and Smith, op. cit., p. 147.

31. Judith Kleinfeld, "'Sense of Fate Control' and Community Control of Schools," Education and Urban Society (May 1971), pp. 277-300; and Judith Kleinfeld, The Validity of the Sense of Fate-Control Scale and the Relationship of Beliefs About Internal and External Control and Academic Concept to School Achievement (Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Cambridge: Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1970).

32. Kleinfeld, "'Sense of Fate Control' and Community Control of Schools," op. cit., pp. 296-297.

33. Wilbur B. Brookover, A. Paterson, and S. Thomas, *Self-Concept of Ability and School Achievement* (East Lansing, Michigan: Educational Publication Services, 1962); Wilbur B. Brookover, Jean M. LePere, Don E. Hamachek, Shailer Thomas, and Edsel L. Erickson, *Self-Concept of Ability and School Achievement*, Volume II (East Lansing, Michigan: Bureau of Educational Research Services, College of Education, Michigan State University, 1965); and Wilbur B. Brookover, Edsel L. Erickson, and Lee M. Joiner, *Self-Concept of Ability and School Achievement*, Volume III (East Lansing, Michigan: Human Learning Research Institute, Michigan State University, 1967).

34. Cohen, "The Price of Community Control," *op. cit*.

35. Cohen and Smith, *op. cit*., pp. 150, 154.

36. For instance, see: Berube, "Educational Achievement and Community Control," *op. cit*., pp. 3-4, 10-11; and Lopate *et al*., "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," *op. cit*., pp. 145-148.

37. Berube, "Educational Achievement and Community Control," *op. cit*., p. 3.

38. For instance, see the essays in Moynihan and Mosteller, *op. cit*. and in Special Issue on Equal Educational Opportunity, *Harvard Educational Review*, 38 (Winter 1968).

39. For instance, see Cohen, Review of *Children and Their Primary Schools, Volume II*, *op. cit*.; and Acland, "The Effects of Family Background: The Reanalysis of the Plowden Data," *op. cit*.

40. One qualification to this statement might be made with regard to the possible effectiveness of parent training programs that attempt to train parents of low-SES backgrounds in cognitive skills in interacting with their children at home. Such skills appear to be "SES-related" rather than "SES-determined." That is, higher-SES parents appear to manifest these skills as a by-product of their educational attainment and the other advantages of favorable family circumstances. But such skills need not be limited to only middle- and higher-SES families *if* low-SES parents can receive this special kind of training. For discussions of this point, see: McLaughlin, *op. cit*.; and Cohen, "The Price of Community Control, *op. cit*.

41. See references to Brookover *et al*. in Chapter VII, footnote 33 above.

42. For instance, see: Berube, "Educational Achievement and Community Control," *op. cit*., pp. 10-11; and Lopate *et al*., "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," *op. cit*., pp. 145-148.

43. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), 2 Volumes.

44. Lopate et al., "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," op. cit., pp. 145-148.

45. For instance, see: Nancy H. St.John, "Desegregation and Minority Group Performance," Review of Educational Research, 40 (April 1970), pp. 111-134; Irwin Katz, "Review of Evidence Relating to Effects of Desegregation on the Intellectual Performance of Negroes," American Psychologist, 19 (1964), pp. 381-399; Irwin Katz, "Some Motivational Determinants of Racial Differences in Intellectual Achievement," International Journal of Psychology, 2 (1967), pp. 1-12; and David J. Armor, "The Evidence on Busing," Public Interest, #28 (Summer 1972), pp. 90-126.

46. Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi, The Education of Catholic Americans (Chicago: Aldine, 1968).

47. Berube, "Educational Achievement and Community Control," op. cit., pp. 10-11; and Lopate et al., "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," op. cit., pp. 145-148.

48. Cohen and Smith, op. cit., p. 154.

49. Preston R. Wilcox, "The Community-Centered School," in The Schoolhouse in the City, Alvin Toffler, ed. (New York: Praeger, 1969), pp. 99-100. For other versions of this argument, see: Hamilton,"Race and Education: A Search for Legitimacy," op. cit.; Fantini, "Community Control and Quality Education in Urban School Systems,"op. cit.; Fantini, Gittell, and Magat, op. cit.; and Harold W. Pfautz, "The Black Community, the Community School, and the Socialization Process: Some Caveats," in Community Control of Schools, Levin, ed., op. cit.

50. One of the strongest suggestions of this position was made in Lopate et al., "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," op. cit., pp. 144-145. The authors speculated that changes in affective variables might be more powerful than cognitive interventions alone in producing higher levels of academic achievement. To support this position, they cited research by Zigler on mentally retarded students. However, there would seem to be reason to question the generalizability of research findings from an academically retarded to a normal population.

51. Editor's preface to Eleanor Burke Leacock, Teaching and Learning in City Schools (New York: Basic Books, 1969), p. xiii.

52. For instance, see: Kleinfeld, The Validity of the Sense of Fate Control Scale and the Relationship of Beliefs About Internal and External Control and Academic Self-Concept to School Achievement, op. cit.; and Cohen and Smith, op. cit., p. 154 and especially footnote 8.

53. Cohen and Smith, op. cit., p. 152 summarized this research as follows:

> Some attitudes seem to change quickly -- like attitudes toward the war in Vietnam -- and others seem to move at

> a glacial pace -- like attitudes concerning the war between the sexes. Some "attitudes" seem to be a product of "behavior" -- like the attitudes toward food which arise from persistent hunger -- and others seem to be entirely reversed -- like the attitudes toward sex of inexperienced adolescents. Sometimes attitudes which seem really solid and unyielding -- like the passion for separate public accommodations among Southern whites -- appear to crumble under the impact of a few laws and court decisions, and sometimes attitudes which seem transitory -- like the desire for ethnic identification among whites -- turn out to be surprisingly durable. And, as the example of ethnic identification suggests, attitudes about attitudes have an astonishing capacity to change, either in response to changes in other peoples' attitudes, or to changed social circumstances.

54. For instance, see: Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior (New York: Free Press, 1959); Fred I. Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," American Political Science Review, 54 (1960), pp. 934-943; Robert D. Hess and David Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, 24 (1960), pp. 632-644; David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 6 (1962), pp. 236-237; David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "The Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization," School Review, 70 (Autumn 1962), pp. 257-265; Robert D. Hess, "Socialization of Attitudes Toward Political Authorities: Some Cross-National Comparisons," International Social Science Journal, 15 (1963), pp. 542-559; Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965); Robert E. Lane and David O. Sears, Public Opinion (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964), Chapter III; Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values Toward Government and Citizenship During the Elementary School Years (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965); David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969); Edward S. Greenberg, Black Children and the Political System: A Study of Socialization to Support, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1969; and Special Issue on Political Socialization, Harvard Educational Review, 38 (1968).

55. See Lopate et al., "Decentralization and Community Participation in Education," op. cit., pp. 145-148; and Berube, "Community Control and Educational Achievement," op. cit., pp. 10-11.

56. See Cohen and Smith, op. cit., pp. 157-158 for a discussion of the Greeley and Rossi research and its implications.

57. Ibid., p. 158; for the basis of this conclusion, see all of Chapter V, especially pp. 155-159.

58. See Chapter III.

59. Gittell and Hollander, op. cit.; and Gittell et al., Demonstration for Social Change, op. cit.

60. This was a favorite criticism by Daniel P. Moynihan, voiced frequently in a seminar on politics and education at the Harvard Graduate School of Education in the spring of 1967.

61. For instance, see: Richard F. Carter, Voters and Their Schools (Stanford: Institute for Communications Research, Stanford University, 1960); David E. Wilder with Nathalie S. Friedman, Robert B. Hill, Eva Sandis, and Samuel D. Sieber, Actual and Perceived Consensus on Educational Goals Between School and Community (New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1968); and Jeffrey A. Raffel, Responsiveness to Parental Preferences in the Boston Public Schools (Draft of dissertation, Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, August 1971). Ocean Hill-Brownsville's success in implementing innovations without strong parental opposition, however, runs contrary to this general pattern. For a summary of the Plowden data on what liberals would consider "unfashionable" attitudes about schooling held by British parents, see Henry Acland, Attitudes Toward Schools: A Reading of Public Opinion Data (Unpublished manuscript, Cambridge: Huron Institute, 1973), p. 1.

62. One of the favorite characterizations of those who favor elite over mass participation is Banfield and Wilson's distinction between the "public-regarding ethos" assumed to describe the political orientations of well-educated, actively participating leadership elites (e.g., the reformers) and the "private-regarding ethos" of mass publics. Mass publics are described as concerned primarily with personal or family needs or the narrow interests of a subgroup of the community. Elites, in contrast, are assumed to manifest in their policy orientations an enlightened concern for the public good and the community as a whole. See: Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics (New York: Vintage, 1963), especially pp. 40-42, 234-240; James Q. Wilson and Edward C. Banfield, "Public-Regardingness as a Value Premise in Voting Behavior," American Political Science Review, 58 (December 1964), pp. 876-887; and James Q. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 29 (November 1963), pp. 242- 249, as reprinted in Citizen Participation in Urban Development, Spiegel, ed., op. cit. For a critique of the public-regarding/private-regarding distinction as ignoring the substantial element of private interest present in the presumably "public-regarding" ethos of the middle class or elite leader in such controversies as urban renewal, see Judith V. May, Citizen Participation: A Review of the Literature (Davis, California: Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, Davis, 1971), pp. 23-27.

The most well known of the studies contrasting illiberal mass orientations with the more liberal tendencies of elites are: Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties (New York: Doubleday, 1955); Herbert McCloskey, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," American Political Science Review, 58 (1964), pp. 361-

383; and Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems and Mass Publics," in *Ideology and Discontent*, David E. Apter, ed. (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. 206-261.

There are numerous studies demonstrating how these illiberal mass political orientations can lead to the defeat of liberal policies preferred by reformers. For instance, studies of defeated local referenda include: Wayne E. Thompson and John E. Horton, "Political Alienation as a Force in Political Action," *Social Forces*, 38 (March 1960), pp. 190-195; John E. Horton and Wayne E. Thompson, "Powerlessness and Political Negativism: A Study of Defeated Referendums," *American Journal of Sociology*, 68 (March 1962), pp. 485-493; and Edward L. McDill and Jeanne C. Ridley, "Status, Anomia, Political Alienation and Political Participation," *American Journal of Sociology*, 18 (September 1962), pp. 205-213.

Studies of defeats on the issue of water fluoridation include: William A. Gamson, "The Fluoridation Dialogue: Is it an Ideological Conflict?" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 27 (Winter 1961), pp. 526-537; William A. Gamson, "Rancorous Conflict in Community Politics," *American Sociological Review*, 31 (January 1966), pp. 71-81; William A. Gamson, *Power and Discontent* (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1968); Arnold Simmel, "A Signpost for Research on Fluoridation Conflicts: The Concept of Relative Deprivation," *Journal of Social Issues*, 17 (1961), pp. 26-36; and Donald B. Rosenthal and Robert L. Crain, "Structure and Values in Local Political Systems: The Case of Fluoridation Decisions," in *City Politics and Public Policy*, James Q. Wilson, ed. (New York: Wiley, 1968), pp. 217-242.

Studies of defeats on school desegregation include: Robert L. Crain *et al.*, *The Politics of School Desegregation* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1968); and Robert L. Crain and James J. Vanecko, "Elite Influence in School Desegregation," in *City Politics and Public Policy*, Wilson, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 127-148.

Studies of defeats on urban renewal include: Crain and Rosenthal, *op. cit.*; and Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," *op. cit.*

Studies of defeats on school tax levies and bond issues include: Carter, *Voters and Their Schools*, *op. cit.*; and Carter, *Voters in School Financial Elections*, *op. cit.*

Also used to support the case are analyses of the mass base of the Nazi party in Germany in the 1930's. For instance, see: Reinhard Bendix, "Social Stratification and Political Power," in *Class, Status, and Power*, Reinhold Bendix and S. M. Lipset, eds. (New York: Free Press, 1953), pp. 596-609; Seymour M. Lipset, *Political Man* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1960), pp. 199-219; and Converse, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-254.

Studies of habitual nonvoters are used as further evidence for this general argument. For instance, see: Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Co., 1954); Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960); Lane, Political Life, op. cit.; and Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit.

63. For instance, see: Edgar S. Cahn and Jean Camper Cahn, "Maximum Feasible Participation: A General Overview," in Citizen Participation: Effecting Community Change, Cahn and Passett, eds., op. cit., pp. 9-66; and Edgar S. Cahn and Jean Camper Cahn, "Citizen Participation," in Citizen Participation in Urban Development, Spiegel, ed., op. cit., pp. 211-224.

64. Raffel, Responsiveness to Parental Preferences in the Boston Public School System, op. cit., Chapter I.

65. May, op. cit.

66. For instance, see: Gittell and Hollander, op. cit.; Mort and Cornell, op. cit.; Francois S. Cillie, Centralization or Decentralization? A Study in Educational Adaptation (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940); George W. Ebey, Adaptability Among Elementary Schools of an American City (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940).

67. A few exceptions to this are: Kenneth A. Tye, A Framework for Analyzing Relationships Between Public Demands and School Board Decisions, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, 1970; Jay D. Scribner, "A Functional-Systems Framework for Analyzing School Board Action," Educational Administration Quarterly, 2 (1966), pp. 204-215; and Jay D. Scribner, "The Politics of Educational Reform: Analyses of Political Demand," Urban Education, 4 (January 1970), pp. 348-374.

68. One exception is Vincent Ira Correll, Jr., The Effect of School District Size Upon Public Interest in Schools (Unpublished Ed.D. Dissertation, Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, 1963). What Correll discussed as adaptability is closer to what we have discussed as procedural responsiveness.

69. For instance, see Mort and Cornell, op. cit.; Cillie, op. cit.; and Ebey, op. cit.

70. Correll, op. cit. Correll studied two districts within a single metropolitan area described as similar except for size. One district had a daily attendance of 10,000 students; the second had 20,000 students. Although the range of variability is not as large as would be desirable, the two districts are within a single metropolitan area rather than representing two small cities. The range used, then, seems particularly appropriate for relevance to questions of school decentralization.

It should be pointed out that Correll's measure is more appropriately characterized as a measure of perceived procedural responsiveness rather than procedural responsiveness per se.

71. Cohen and Smith, op. cit., Chapter I. Their analysis in Chapter I is not directed at relating size or bureaucracy to responsiveness but to each other. The size-responsiveness relationship is considered in Chapter IV of their manuscript, but the measures they used as proxies for responsiveness seem rather far removed from what we would conceptualize ideally as responsiveness. (See our previous discussion of this point in Chapter VII above and Chapter VII footnotes 4 and 5).

72. Gittell and Hollander, op. cit.

73. See our previous discussion of this study in Chapter III.

74. For instance, see: Kramer, op. cit.; Clark and Hopkins, op. cit.; and Kirschner study cited in Sar A. Levitan, "The Community Action Program: A Strategy to Fight Poverty," in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 385 (September 1969), pp. 74-75,and in Levitan, The Great Society's Poor Law, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

75. For instance, see Arnstein, op. cit.

76. Clark and Hopkins, op. cit., especially p. 243.

77. Ibid., p. 246.

78. See: Kramer, op. cit.; Clark and Hopkins, op. cit., especially p. 246; Marris and Rein, op. cit ; Sanford Kravitz, "The Community Action Program - Past, Present, and its Future?" in On Fighting Poverty, Sundquist, ed., op. cit.; Sanford Kravitz and Ferne K. Kolodner, "Community Action: Where Has It Been? Where Will It Go?" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 385 (September 1969); Bellush and David, op. cit., p. 52; and Marshall, "Public Participation and the Politics of Poverty," op. cit., pp. 469-473. For two more positive estimates of the amount of influence the poor had on these boards, see: Arnstein, op. cit.; and The Brandeis University Study (Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare), "Community Representation in 20 Cities," in Citizen Participation: Effecting Community Change, Cahn and Passett, eds., op. cit.

79. For instance, see: Mogulof, Citizen Participation: A Review, op. cit., pp. 81-82; and M. Geier, "Title I of the ESEA," Community, 2 (Spring/Summer 1970), p. 7 discussion of the findings of Title I of the ESEA: Is It Helping Poor Children? (a report by the Washington Research Project and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund).

80. For instance, see Kramer, op. cit., especially p. 255.

81. For versions of this argument, see: Clark and Hopkins, op. cit.; and Gittell, "Moynihan's Misunderstanding," op. cit.

82. For instance, see Marris and Rein, op. cit. on the high response to job opportunities.

83. For instance, see: H. Gottesfeld and G. Dozier, "Changes in Feelings of Powerlessness in a Community Action Program," Psychological Reports, 19 (1966), p. 978; and Louis A. Zurcher, "The Poverty Board: Some Consequences of 'Maximum Feasible Participation'," Journal of Social Issues, 26 (Summer 1970), pp. 85-107.

84. For instance, see: Clark and Hopkins, op. cit.; Kramer, op. cit., pp. 239-259; Marris and Rein, op. cit.; Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, op. cit., pp. 129-130; Gittell, "Moynihan's Misunderstanding," op. cit.; Kravitz and Kolodner, op. cit.; Sundquist, "The End of the Experiment?" in On Fighting Poverty, Sundquist, ed., op. cit., p. 240; Bellush and David, op. cit., pp. 47-52; Marshall, "Public Participation and the Politics of Poverty," op. cit., pp. 469-475; and Mogulof, Citizen Participation: Local Perspective, op. cit., pp. 47-59, 163-164, 171-173.

85. For instance, see: Clark and Hopkins, op. cit.; Kramer, op. cit.; Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, op. cit., especially p. 121; and Marshall, "Public Participation and the Politics of Poverty," op. cit., pp. 473-475.

1. For my understanding of the analogical argument, I am indebted to David K. Cohen of the Harvard Graduate School of Education and Cohen and Smith, op. cit., especially pp. 4-7.

1a. The Center for Urban Education, for instance, sponsored two conferences around the subject of the "crisis of confidence" in public education. These were held in December 1970 and January 1971 in New York City and in Los Angeles. At this same time, opposition to performance contracting and especially to tuition voucher schemes was building. The fear of wholesale flight from the public schools was expressed by leaders in the national conventions of the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers.

2. The author and her colleagues at the Center for Urban Education were firm believers in this "crisis of confidence" in the schools during the 1969-1971 period. In our analyses of the educational scene at this time, we examined the indicators described here and reported our findings in the following documents: Center for Urban Education Task Force on Urban Education, Public Support for and Extent of Confidence in Urban Public Schools (New York: Center for Urban Education, 1969); Harriet Spivak, Rita Senf, and Morton Inger, Working Draft, Interim Report: School Attitudes Study, July 1970; and Harriet Spivak, Rita Senf, and Morton Inger, The School Attitudes Study: An Interim Report (New York: Center for Urban Education, October 1970), mimeo.

3. For instance, see: Jean M. Flanigan, "Is There a Taxpayers' Revolt?" Phi Delta Kappan, 49 (October 1967); "Most Suburban School Budgets Voted," New York Times, May 8, 1969; "Suburbs Vote on School Budgets; Only Rockland Approves All," New York Times, May 9, 1969; Center for Urban Education Task Force on Urban Education, Public Support for and Extent of Confidence in Urban Public Schools, op. cit.; Pete Sheehan, "Why the Money Ran Out in Youngstown," Phi Delta Kappan, 5[illegible] (November 1969); Linda Greenhouse, "Suburban Schools Worry Over Funds But Plan New Programs," New York Times, September 6, 1970; William K. Stevens, "Tax Revolt: 46,000 Shut Out of School," New York Times, September 14, 1970; George Gallup, How the Nation Views the Public Schools: A Study of the Public Schools of the United States (Princeton: Gallup International, 1969); and George Gallup, "Second Annual Survey of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools," Phi Delta Kappan, 52 (October 1970). As pointed out in Flanigan, op. cit., these statistics on defeated referenda may actually underestimate the extent of voters' negative feelings: it is likely that in many communities school officials who anticipate defeats do not put financial referenda on the ballot. In the 1969 Gallup poll reported in How the Nation Views the Public Schools, op. cit., 49% of a national sample stated that they would not be willing to vote more funds for the local schools, 45% said they would approve tax increases for the schools, and 5% were uncertain what they would do. Since many localities require a two-thirds majority for passage of financial questions, these results suggest that the extent of public support is far less than this required level.

4. More than 30 storefront schools were operating in 1967-1968 as part of the New York Urban League's Street Academy program in New York City, and similar programs have appeared in Seattle and Miami. For

instance, see: Leonard Buder, "Report on Storefront Schools," New York Times, August 6, 1967; Chris Tree, "Storefront Schools," Urban Review, 2 (February 1968).

5. A New Schools Conference held in 1969 attracted representatives of over 200 schools. Out of this conference grew the New Schools Exchange (an information clearinghouse) and the Directory of Free Schools. In 1969 alone, 800 additional names were added to this directory. For a sampling of discussion of free schools, see: Bonnie Barrett Stretch, "The Rise of the 'Free School'," Saturday Review, 53 (June 20, 1970); Jonathan Kozol, Free Schools (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972); Jonathan Kozol, "Politics, Rage and Motivation in the Free Schools," Harvard Educational Review, 42 (August 1972), pp. 414-422; and Allen Graubard, "The Free School Movement," Harvard Educational Review, 42 (August 1972), pp. 351-373.

6. For instance, see: "Will Industry Run Our Ghetto Schools?" Nation's Schools, 85 (January 1970); Stanley Elam, "The Age of Accountability Dawns in Texarkana," Phi Delta Kappan, 51 (June 1970); Jack Rosenthal, "U.S. Plans Test of the Teaching of Pupils by Private Contractors," New York Times, July 15, 1970; Ronald Schwartz, "Performance Contracts Catch On," Nation's Schools, 86 (August 1970); "Pay-As-You-Go Schooling," Newsweek, 76 (August 10, 1970); "Profit and Loss in Education," Saturday Review, 53 (August 15, 1970); "Satisfaction Guaranteed or Money Back," Saturday Review, 53 (August 15, 1970); "Teaching for Profit," Newsweek, 76 (August 17, 1970); "Free Enterprise for Schools," Time, 96 (August 24, 1970); "Performance Contracting: How it Works in Texarkana," School Management (August 1970); "The Customers Pass the Test - or Else," Business Week (September 12, 1970); Ronald Schwartz, "Performance Contracting: Industry's Reaction," Nation's Schools, 86 (September 1970).

7. For instance, see: Center for Policy Studies, Education Vouchers (Cambridge: Center for Policy Studies, 1970); Milton Friedman, "A Free Market in Education," Public Interest (Spring 1966); Henry M. Levin, "The Failure of the Public Schools and the Free Market Remedy," Urban Review, 2 (June 1968); Robert M. Krughoff, "Private Schools for the Public," Education and Urban Society, 2 (November 1969); "Free Enterprise for Schools," Time, 96 (August 24, 1970); Christopher Jencks, "Giving Parents Money to Pay for Schooling: Education Vouchers," New Republic, 163 (July 4, 1970); "Education Voucher," Urban Crisis Monitor, 3 (August 28, 1970); George R. LaNoue, ed., Educational Vouchers: Concepts and Controversies; and Joan S. Lublin, "'Buying' Your School with a Voucher Looks Like Good Deal So Far," Wall Street Journal, June 4, 1973.

8. For instance, see: Paul Goodman, "Mini-Schools: A Prescription for the Reading Problem," New York Review of Books, 9 (January 4, 1968); Ivan Illich, De-Schooling Society (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); Ivan Illich, "School Must be Abolished," New York Review of Books, 15 (July 2, 1970); Everett Reimer, Second Annual Report on the Seminar on Alternatives in Education (Guernavaca, Mexico: Centro Intercultural de Documentacion); Everett Reimer, An Essay on Alternatives in

Education (Guernavaca, Mexico: Centro Intercultural de Documentacion, 1970); Christopher Jencks, "Cultivating Greater Diversity," New Republic, 151 (November 7, 1964); Christopher Jencks, "Are Public Schools Obsolete?" Public Interest (Spring 1966); Christopher Jencks, "Private Schools for Black Children," New York Times Magazine, November 3, 1968; Kenneth B. Clark, "Alternative Public School Systems," Harvard Educational Review, 38 (Winter 1968); Fantini, "Alternatives for Urban School Reform," op. cit.; S. M. Miller, "Alternatives To Schools," New York University Education Quarterly, 1 (Summer 1970); Ronald and Beatrice Gross, eds., Radical School Reform (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969); and Special Issue on Alternative Schools, Harvard Educational Review, 42 (August 1972).

9. In 1970 alone, three major conferences were held on alternatives in education. These were held in Santa Barbara, Toronto, and Guernavaca. Stretch, op. cit. In addition, the Gittell ICS group sponsored the National Conference of Community Schools in 1969 as reported in "National Conference of Community Schools," Community, 1 (March-April 1969), p. 7.

10. For instance, see references above in Chapter VII, footnotes 4-8.

11. In particular, see the programs for the annual conventions of the American Educational Research Association, the National Education Association, and the American Federation of Teachers.

12. For instance, see: Grace Hechinger and Fred M. Hechinger, The New York Times Guide to New York City Private Schools (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968); and Fred M. Hechinger, "Private Schools Plan Fee and Pupil Rises," New York Times, July 1, 1969.

13. A poll of Catholic parishioners of the Brooklyn Diocese found continued heavy support for Roman Catholic parochial schools despite increased tuition costs. 81% of the parishioners who responded to a questionnaire stated that they wanted the Catholic school system to continue and opposed replacing it with arrangements for religious instruction after public-school hours and on weekends; 82% evaluated the academic programs of the Catholic schools as equal or superior to that of the public schools. However, the results of this poll must be interpreted cautiously. The response rate was only 11.4% and the procedures used were bound to produce results seriously biased in favor of the Catholic schools. The questionnaires were distributed to 580,000 parishioners in church one Sunday. The forms were to be completed at home and returned the following Sunday. The poll results are reported in Gene Currvan, "81% in a Poll Back Catholic Schools," New York Times, June 28, 1970.

14. Flanigan, op. cit. 64% of school bond issues were being approved, while only 54% of other kinds of municipal bond issues were getting the same favorable treatment.

15. See later discussion in this chapter and footnotes 38-43.

16. For instance, see: Louis H. Masotti, "Patterns of White and Nonwhite School Referenda Participation and Support: Cleveland, 1960-64," in *Educating an Urban Population*, Marilyn Gittell, ed. (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1967); Ralph V. Smith, Stanley E. Flory, and Rashid L. Bashur, *Community Support for the Public Schools in a Large Metropolitan Area*, *Final Report* (May 1968), ERIC # ED 026 706.

17. See results of Nathalie Friedman's research reported in: Friedman, *Observability in School Systems*, *op. cit*. and Wilder *et al*., *op. cit*.

18. Fred Hechinger, "Private Schools Win Favor in a Poll," *New York Times*, June 29, 1969.

19. George Gallup, "Second Annual Survey of the Public's Attitude Toward the Public Schools," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 52 (October 1970), pp. 97-112.

20. The results of this survey are reported in Raffel, *Responsiveness to Parental Preferences*, *op. cit*., Chapter X; and in Joseph M. Cronin and Richard M. Hailer *et al*., *Organizing an Urban School System for Diversity: A Study of the Boston School Department* (Boston: Massachusetts Advisory Council, 1970).

21. These data were collected as part of the Center for Urban Education's School Legitimacy Study. For a preliminary presentation of these data, see Spivak, Senf, and Inger, *The School Attitudes Study: An Interim Report*, *op. cit*.

22. For instance, see: Paul F. Kleine, Raphael O. Nystrand, and Edwin M. Bridges, "Citizen Views of Big City Schools," *Theory into Practice*, 8 (October 1969), pp. 223-228; Market Opinion Research, *A Study of Community Attitudes Toward the Public School System (Detroit)* (Detroit: Market Opinion Research, 1969); Market Opinion Research, *A Study of Community Attitudes Toward the Public School System - Columbus, Ohio* (Detroit: Market Opinion Research, 1969); Center for Urban Education, *Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant*, *op. cit*.; Cronin and Hailer, *op. cit*.; Raffel, *Responsiveness to Parental Preferences in the Boston School System*, *op. cit*.; Friedman, *Observability in School Systems*, *op. cit*.; Louis Harris and Associates, *A Study of the Attitudes of Parents in New York City and in Selected New York Suburbs Toward Their School Systems* (New York: Center for Urban Education, 1969); and Basil Zimmer and Amos H. Hawley, *Metropolitan Area Schools* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1968).

    Other reviewers who have examined public opinion data and comment on this same overwhelmingly positive picture include: John R. Hoyle and Eldon L.Wiley, "What are the People Telling Us?" *Phi Delta Kappan*, 53 (September 1971), pp. 49-50; and Henry Acland, *Attitudes Toward Schools: A Reading of Public Opinion Data* (Unpublished manuscript, Cambridge: Huron Institute, 1973).

    However, higher levels of dissatisfaction have been reported in some other surveys. For instance, see: Augus Campbell and Howard Schuman, "Racial Attitudes in Fifteen American Cities," *Supplemental Studies* for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968); Niemeyer et al., Final Report, op. cit.; Swanson, Cortin, and Main, op. cit.; and Robert T. Riley and David K. Cohen, The Attitudes of Boston Adults Toward Racial Imbalance and Parent Involvement in the Public Schools: Spring 1969, Report to the Massachusetts State Board of Education (Cambridge: Harvard University Center for Educational Policy Research, 1970). It is difficult to tell from these reports whether the samples studied were indeed more dissatisfied than most or whether the reported findings bias the results in this direction because of either item response wording or collapsing of categories in data presentation. Campbell and Schuman, for instance, offered respondents only one positively phrased response ("generally satisfied") and two negatively phrased responses ("somewhat dissatisfied" and "very dissatisfied"). Most of the negative responses fell in fact into the middle category on the scale ("somewhat dissatisfied"). Is this to be interpreted as a middle response or a negative response? In the Niemeyer et al. and also the Swanson, Cortin, and Main reports, rating of "fair" and "poor" were collapsed into what was reported as "negative" feelings. Again, "fair" might represent "average" or a middle response rather than a negative response. The Riley and Cohen report does not provide information about the precise questions asked. They report that 40.6% of their white sample and 66.6% of their Negro sample rated their neighborhood schools as poor. Without further information about their instrument, it is difficult to understand this strongly negative finding. This is especially so since the results are so much more negative than those uncovered in the Boston survey taken within a year or so of the Riley and Cohen survey and reported in Cronin and Hailer et al., op. cit. and Raffel, Responsiveness to Parental Preferences in the Boston School System, op. cit., Chapter X. Differences in the manner in which these samples were drawn would not seem adequate to explain the major differences in results on this question. However, it should be noted that the Boston sample reported by Raffel and by Cronin and Hailer et al. was not a random cross-section of the city population. Rather, it was a sample of parents whose children attended ten specially selected public elementary schools.

23. Center for Urban Education, Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant, op. cit.; Market Opinion Research, Study of Community Attitudes (Detroit), op. cit.; Market Opinion Research, Study of Community Attitudes - Columbus, Ohio, op. cit.; Cronin and Hailer, op. cit.; Raffel, Responsiveness to Parental Preferences in The Boston Public School System, op. cit.

24. George Gallup, How the Nation Views the Public Schools: A Study of the Public Schools of the United States (Princeton: Gallup International, 1969); George Gallup, "Second Annual Survey of the Public's Attitude Toward the Public Schools, Phi Delta Kappan, 52 (October 1970), pp. 97-112; George Gallup, "The Third Annual Survey of the Public's Attitude Toward the Public Schools, 1971," Phi Delta Kappan, 53 (September 1971), pp. 33-48; George Gallup, "Fourth Annual Gallup Poll of Public Attitudes Toward Education," Phi Delta Kappan, 54 (September 1972), pp. 33-46; and Carter et al., Structure and Process

of School-Community Relations, *op. cit*., Vol. II.

25. Campbell and Schuman, *op. cit*.; Carter, *Voters and Their Schools*, *op. cit*.; Harris, *op. cit*.; Kleine, Nystrand, and Bridges, *op. cit*.; and Zimmer and Hawley, *op. cit*. A city cross-sectional sample that uncovered greater parental dissatisfaction with schools than most other such studies was Riley and Cohen, *op. cit*., as discussed above in footnote 22. Another city sample that was not, however, random was the sample studied in Cronin and Hailer *et al*., *op. cit*. and Raffel, *Responsiveness to Parental Preferences*, *op. cit*.

26. Center for Urban Education, *Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant*, *op. cit*.; Niemeyer *et al*., *Final Report*, *op. cit*.; Swanson, Cortin, and Main, *op. cit*.; Gottfried, "A Survey of Parental Views of the Ocean Hill Brownsville Experiment," *op. cit*.; Market Opinion Research, *Study of Community Attitudes (Detroit)*, *op. cit*.; and Market Opinion Research,*Study of Community Attitudes - Columbus, Ohio*, *op. cit*.

    Most inner-city parents tend to give positive ratings of the schools and in this respect the inner-city data are not dramatically different from data for other areas. However, it should be noted that the percentages giving positive ratings and the intensity of positive feelings given by inner-city parents are often significantly different from parents living in other kinds of communities. This will be discussed more fully later in this chapter.

27. Market Opinion Research, *A Study of Community Attitudes (Detroit)*, *op. cit*.; and Market Opinion Research, *A Study of Community Attitudes - Columbus, Ohio*, *op. cit*.

28. Harris, *op. cit*.; Market Opinion Research, *A Study of Community Attitudes (Detroit)*, *op. cit*.; and Zimmer and Hawley, *op. cit*.

29. For instance: Center for Urban Education, *Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant*, *op. cit*.; Campbell and Schuman, *op. cit*.; Carter *et al*., *Structure and Process of School-Community Relations*, *op. cit*., Vol. II; Kleine, Nystrand, and Bridges, *op. cit*.; and Zimmer and Hawley, *op. cit*.

30. Carter, *Voters and Their Schools*, *op. cit*.

31. Gallup used area probability samples but then presented separate analyses of the data for the total samples, nonparents, parents of public school children, and parents of parochial school children. Gallup, *How the Nation Views the Schools*, *op. cit*.; Gallup, "Second Annual Survey," *op. cit*.; Gallup, "Third Annual Survey," *op. cit*.; Gallup, "Fourth Annual Survey," *op. cit*.

    Carter *et al*. also used area probability samples and then presented separate analyses for the following: total sample, nonparents, post-school parents, pre-school parents, public school parents, and private school parents (this last group is composed mostly of what we would categorize as parochial school parents). Carter, *Voters and*

Their Schools, *op. cit.*; and Carter *et al.*, *Structure and Process of School-Community Relations*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II.

Zimmer and Hawley, *op. cit.*, also presented separate analyses by parental status.

32. See footnote 31 above; also: Gottfried, "A Survey of Parental Views of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Experiment," *op. cit.*; Niemeyer *et al.*, *Final Report*, *op. cit.*; and Swanson, Cortin, and Main, *op. cit.*

33. Gallup, *How the Nation Views the Schools*, *op. cit.*; Gallup, "Second Annual Survey," *op. cit.*; Gallup, "Third Annual Survey, *op. cit.*; Gallup, "Fourth Annual Survey," *op. cit.*; Carter, *Voters and Their Schools*, *op. cit.*; Carter *et al.*, *Structure and Process of School-Community Relations*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II; and Zimmer and Hawley, *op. cit.*

34. For instance, see Kleine, Nystrand, and Bridges, *op. cit.*; and Carter, *Voters and Their Schools*, *op. cit.*

35. Campbell and Schuman, *op. cit.*; Harris, *op. cit.*; Niemeyer *et al.*, *Final Report*, *op. cit.*; and Swanson, Cortin, and Main, *op. cit.*

36. The text specifically uses the phrase "the kind of people who live in... " rather than "the people who live in...." For studies that give separate breakdowns by race and/or SES within a given geographic area, see: Harris, *op. cit.*; Campbell and Schuman, *op. cit.*; Center for Urban Education, *Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant*, *op. cit.*; Niemeyer *et al.*, *Final Report*, *op. cit.*; Raffel, *Responsiveness to Parental Preferences*, *op. cit.*; Smith, Flory, and Bashur, *Community Support for the Public Schools*, *op. cit.*; Riley and Cohen, *op. cit.* The few studies that give breakdowns by type of community (i.e., city vs. suburb) are: Harris, *op. cit.*; Market Opinion Research, *A Study of Community Attitudes (Detroit)*, *op. cit.*; and Zimmer and Hawley, *op. cit.*, especially p. 86.

The Zimmer and Hawley study presents a considerably more complicated set of findings than the other studies on the question of city vs. suburban levels of satisfaction with the schools. According to their data, the usual characterization of city *dis*satisfaction vs. suburban satisfaction holds up only in large metropolitan areas. In small metropolitan areas, the relationship is actually the reverse, with approximately 5% less reporting satisfaction in the suburbs than in the cities. Still, the general pattern in both city and suburb in metropolitan areas of all size is one of overwhelming satisfaction. The proportions satisfied are: 72% in large cities; 81% in small cities; 85% in the suburbs of large cities; and 76% in the suburbs of small cities. The proportion of respondents reporting dissatisfaction is greater than 10% only in the cities of medium-sized metropolitan areas and the suburbs of small metropolitan areas. (p. 86) Unfortunately, the Zimmer and Hawley data do not give separate figures on this item for inner-city minority communities vs. middle class or affluent white suburbs. The analogical argument's assumption of strong dissatisfaction in ghetto communities might still be supported by such an analysis.

37. See discussion later in this chapter and also see Chapter X.

38. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (The Kerner Commission), Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam, 1968), p. 25.

39. Campbell and Schuman, op. cit.; and Center for Urban Education, Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant, op. cit. The Campbell and Schuman study surveyed the opinions of black and white samples of residents of fifteen selected cities. The CUE survey used an area sample of the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. As such, the sample was overwhelmingly black (87%), but also included some Puerto Ricans (8%) and others (5%) defined as "whites and all other groups." (pp. 11, 13)

40. Campbell and Schuman, op. cit., p. 39.

41. For instance, see: Center for Urban Education, Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant, op. cit.; Harris, op. cit.; Niemeyer et al., Final Report, op. cit.; and Gottfried, "A Study of Parental Views of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Experiment," op. cit.

42. If "negative feelings" are defined as "strong dissatisfaction," and this in turn is operationalized as ratings of school quality as "poor" or a report of "very dissatisfied" with the schools, the percentage of black respondents indicating such strong dissatisfaction tends to be reported in the range of 14% - 18%, with only Riley and Cohen, op. cit. reporting an unusual high of 66.6%. The percentages reported in the other studies were: Campbell and Schuman, op. cit., 14% of Negro women and 15% of Negro men; and Center for Urban Education, Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant, op. cit. 18% of Negro sample. Uncollapsed data separating "poor" from "only fair" were not reported in Niemeyer et al., Final Report, op. cit.

    If "negative feelings" are defined as "moderate or strong dissatisfaction," and this in turn is operationalized as ratings of school quality as "fair" or "poor," or reports of "somewhat dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied," the figures tend to fall within the range of 36% - 57%. The percentages in the different studies were as follows: Campbell and Schuman, op. cit., 37% of Negro women and 36% of Negro men; Center for Urban Education, Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant, op. cit., 57% of Negro sample; Niemeyer et al., Final Report, op. cit., textbooks, 47% of Negro sample; buildings, 52%; curriculum, 56%. Riley and Cohen, op. cit. do not give a report of percentages for any response categories other than "poor." Therefore, we have no way of knowing for this study what the combined total would be for "poor" and "fair" (or some equivalent of "fair").

43. For instance, see: Harris, op. cit.; Center for Urban Education, Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant, op. cit.; Riley and Cohen,

op. cit.; Raffel, Responsiveness to Parental Preferences, op. cit.; Niemeyer et al., Final Report, op. cit.; and Swanson, Cortin, and Main, op. cit.

Alan Altshuler, op. cit., pp. 59-60, underscored this point by presenting the responses from two items in the above Harris poll somewhat differently from the way Harris presented the results. On the question of whether the community has too little, too much, or the right amount of influence in running the schools, blacks tended to respond in a 4:1 ratio that the community had too little influence, in sharp contrast to the lineup of opinion in other groups:

	Too Little	Too Much or Just Right
Blacks	66%	15%
Puerto Ricans	31%	38%
Jews	43%	41%
White Catholics	22%	51%

When asked about which side they supported in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville controversy, the differential lineup of opinion was as follows:

Blacks	8:1 for McCoy and Governing Board
Puerto Ricans	1½:1 for UFT
Whites	6:1 for UFT
Jews	4:1 for UFT
White Catholics	13:1 for UFT

44. This finding is reported in Harris, op. cit., on p. 27, but without any supporting tables. There is no way of know, then, whether the basis of this finding is a direct question or simply responses made to open-ended probes. Therefore, we have no way of knowing how many black parents expressed this belief.

45. Raffel, Responsiveness to Parental Preferences, op. cit., Chapter I, p. 26. Raffel identifies the purposeful kind of action to meet parental preferences as "responsiveness."

46. This scheme is usually attributed to the work of Lawrence W. Downey. The source usually cited for this scheme is Lawrence W. Downey, The Task of Public Education (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1960). Research on parent preferences employing variants of this scheme includes: Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit., Chapter I; Wilder et al., op. cit.; and Raffel, Responsiveness to Parental Preferences, op. cit., Chapters III and IV.

47. Ibid.

48. Raffel, Responsiveness to Parental Preferences, op. cit., Chapter V.

49. Sam D. Sieber and David E. Wilder, "Teaching Styles: Parental Preferences and Professional Role Definitions," Sociology of Education, 40

(Fall 1967), pp. 302-315; and Wilder *et al.*, *op. cit.*

50. For our definitional distinction, see Chapter V. For work on style differences in preferred parent role, see: Riley and Cohen, *op. cit.*; Raffel, *Responsiveness to Parental Preferences*, *op. cit.*; and Cronin and Hailer, *op. cit*

51. Riley and Cohen, *op. cit.*; Raffel, *Responsiveness to Parental Preferences*, *op. cit.*; Center for Urban Education, *Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant*, *op. cit.*; Niemeyer *et al.*, *Final Report*, *op. cit.*; and Swanson, Cortin, and Main, *op. cit.*

52. Raffel, *Responsiveness to Parental Preferences*, *op. cit.*; Wilder *et al.*, *op. cit.*

53. Wilder *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-56.

54. *Ibid.* 59% of the mothers who perceive consensus on goals are very satisfied, whereas only 41% who perceive dissensus are very satisfied.

55. These figures are from the same data on goals cited above in footnote 54. They represent our own analysis, adding together the reported data for both very satisfied and somewhat satisfied. However, it should be noted that goals are the most diffuse of parental preference areas studied and the hardest to gauge in school functioning. Also, parents tend to be reasonably tolerant of differences on goals, generally recognizing all goal areas as important or at least not harmful. There is no reason to assume, though, that this pattern would be precisely the same on such other dimensions as content, teaching style, or parent role. The Wilder *et al.* data show the same *pattern* of findings on teaching style as the pattern we already examined for goals. But more mothers perceive dissensus here, and more who perceive dissensus are dissatisfied.

56. Wilder *et al.*, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 86-96, 141-145, 288, 290.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-96.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 290; Gallup, "Fourth Annual Survey," *op. cit.*; Carter *et al.*, *Structure and Process of School-Community Relations*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II; Acland, *Attitudes Toward Schools*, *op. cit.*; Gladys Rothbell and Judith Eisler, "Community Opinion: Who is Speaking for Whom?" *Center Forum*, 3 (November 13, 1968); and Spivak, Senf, and Inger, *op. cit.* Also see Derek Hooks and Samuel Williams, Review of *Diary of a Harlem Schoolteacher* by Jim Haskins, in *Harvard Educational Review*, 40 (August 1970).

59. Acland, *Attitudes Toward the Schools*, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-50.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38. Acland points to some of these data. For additional data showing higher SES parents to be more critical of the schools, see: Center for Urban Education, *Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant*, *op, cit.*; Spivak, Inger, and Senf, *op. cit.*; and Harris, *op. cit.*

61. Ibid., p. 40. The data are from a study cited in this manuscript draft as Donovan and Madaus (1969).

62. Ibid., pp. 42-50. On this point, Acland also examines Donovan and Madaus' findings on Catholic parents who use both public and parochial schools for their children, but he admits that these data are less than perfect for this purpose: the parent may freely choose the public school for a given child or he may have no choice with regard to use of a parochial school for one or more of his children, for instance, if there is no Catholic high school in his community. At any rate, this group of Catholic parents expressed almost the same opinions of the public schools as parents who used only the public schools. Therefore, neither the option of using another school system (in a situation where real choice was possible) nor the availability of a standard of comparison between two systems had much influence on parents' assessments of the public schools. Ibid., pp. 40-41.

63. Ibid., p. 50.

64. For a review of a small part of this literature, see Raffel, Responsiveness to Parental Preferences, op. cit., Chapter III. For some good data on this, see Carter et al., Structure and Process of School-Community Relations, op. cit., Volume II, especially Chapters V and VII.

65. For instance, see: Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit., especially pp. 73-76; Gallup, How the Nation Views the Schools, op. cit.; Gallup, "Third Annual Survey," op. cit.; Kleine, Nystrand, and Bridges, op. cit.; and Acland, Attitudes Toward Schools, op. cit.

66. For instance, the data we gathered in the Center for Urban Education's School Legitimacy Study include parents' perceptions of school openness to parent access and influence. Our analyses indicates that there is far more variance within schools than between schools on these perceptions. For a reanalysis of our data confirming this finding, see Acland, Attitudes Toward Schools, op. cit.

67. For instance, see Raffel, Responsiveness to Parental Preferences, op. cit.

68. Ibid.

69. The educational literature relating parent participation and satisfaction includes:Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit.; Carter et al., Structure and Process of School-Community Relations, op. cit., Vol. II; Friedman, Observability in School Systems, op. cit.; Wilder et al., op. cit. For an analysis of some of this literature and a reanalysis of available data to test this assumption, see Cohen and Smith, op. cit.

70. Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit.

71. Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit.; Carter et al., Structure

and Process of School-Community Relations, op. cit., Vol. II. For the extensive work in political science on sense of efficacy and participation, see: Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, op. cit.; Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, op. cit.; Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963); Lane, Political Life, op. cit., especially pp. 149-155; Milbrath, op. cit., especially pp. 56-60, 156-157; and May, op. cit.

72. Ibid.

73. For a good illustration of this, see Cohen and Smith, op. cit.

74. For instance, see: Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, eds. Group Dynamics: Research and Theory (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Co., 1953); Dorwin Cartwright, "Achieving Change in People: Some Applications of Group Dynamics Theory," Human Relations, 4 (1951), pp. 381-392; Karl Lewin, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics: II. Channels of Group Life: Social Planning and Action Research," Human Relations, 1 (1947), pp. 143-153; Karl Lewin, "Group Decision and Social Change," in Readings in Social Psychology, Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley, eds. (New York: Holt, 1947), pp. 330-344; and Karl Lewin, "Studies in Group Decision," in Cartwright and Zander, eds., op. cit.; A. Paul Hare, "Interpersonal Relations in the Small Group," in Handbook of Modern Sociology, Robert E. L. Faris, ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), pp. 217-271; A. Paul Hare, "Small Group Discussions with Participatory and Supervisory Leadership," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 48 (1953), pp. 273-275; A. Paul Hare, Social Interaction: An Analysis of Behavior in Small Groups (New York: Wiley, 1959).

75. For instance, see research reviewed in: Paul Blumberg, Industrial Democracy: The Sociology of Participation (London: Constable and Co., 1968); Robert T. Golembiewski, "Small Groups and Large Organizations," in Handbook of Organizations, James G. March, ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), pp. 87-141; Edward Gross, "Industrial Relations," in Handbook of Modern Sociology, Faris, ed., op. cit., pp. 619-679; Mason Haire, "Industrial Social Psychology," in Handbook of Social Psychology, Gardner Lindzey, ed. (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1954), Volume II, pp. 1104-1123; Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: Wiley, 1966), pp. 368-382; Harold H. Kelley and John W. Thibaut, "Experimental Studies of Group Problem Solving and Processing," in Handbook of Social Psychology, Lindzey, ed., op. cit., Volume II, pp. 735-785; Robert L. Saunders, Ray C. Phillips, and Harold T. Johnson, A Theory of Educational Leadership (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill and Co., 1966); and Sidney Verba, Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961). For some of the specific studies in work-related settings, see: H. Baumgartel, "Leadership Style as a Variable in Research Administration," Administrative Science Quarterly, 2 (1957), pp. 344-360; Lester Coch and John R. P. French, Jr., "Overcoming Resistance to Change," Human Relations, 1 (1948), pp. 512-532; Richard A. Gorton, "Factors Which are Associated with the Principal's Behavior in Encouraging Teacher

Participation in School Decisionmaking," *Dissertation Abstracts*, 27 (1967), p. 354; Eugene H. Jacobsen, *Group Leadership and Men* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, 1951); Robert L. Kahn and Daniel Katz, "Leadership Practices in Relation to Productivity and Morale," in Cartwright and Zander, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 554-570; L. C. Lawrence and P. C. Smith, "Group Decision and Employee Participation, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 39 (1955), pp. 334-337; Jacob Levine and John Butler, "Lecture vs. Group Decision in Changing Behavior," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 36 (1952), pp. 29-33; D. G. Marquis, H. Guetzkow, and R. W. Heyns, "A Social Psychological Study of the Decision-Making Conference," in *Groups, Leadership, and Men*, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-67; and N. Morse and E. Reimer, "The Experimental Change of a Major Organizational Variable," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 52 (1956), pp. 120-129.

76. For instance, see studies reviewed in Saunders *et al.*, *op. cit.*; Kelly and Thibaut, *op. cit.*; Hare, "Interpersonal Relations in the Small Group," *op. cit.*; and Golembiewski, *op. cit.* For some of the specific studies in an instructional context, see: M. J. Asch, "Non-Directive Teaching in Psychology: An Experimental Study," *Psychological Monographs*, 65 (1951), #321; L. G. Wispé, "Evaluating Section Teaching Methods in the Introductory Course," *Journal of Educational Research*, 45 (1952), pp. 161-186; Marian Radke and Dayna Klisurich, "Experiments in Changing Food Habits," *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 23 (May 1947), pp. 403-409; and Kurt Lewin, "Forces Behind Food Habits and Methods of Change," *Problem of Changing Food Habits*, *Bulletin of the National Research Council*, 108 (October 1943), pp. 35-65. For a study in a recreational (boys' club) context, see Ralph White and Ronald Lippitt, "Leader Behavior and Member Reaction in Three 'Social Climates'," in Cartwright and Zander, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 527-553.

77. Radke and Klisurich, *op. cit.*; Lewin, "Forces Behind Food Habits and Methods of Change," *op. cit.*; Levine and Butler, *op. cit.*; Edith B. Bennett, "Discussion, Decision, Commitment, and Consensus in 'Group Decision'," *Human Relations*, 8 (1955), pp. 251-274; and the Bavelas study reported in Maier (1946), as described in Kelley and Thibaut, *op. cit.*,pp. 755-756.

78. For instance, see Lewin, Lippitt, and White, *op. cit.*; Baumgartel, *op. cit.*; and Kurt Lewin, "The Consequences of an Authoritarian and Democratic Leadership," in *Studies in Leadership: Leadership and Democratic Action*, Alvin W. Gouldner, ed. (New York: Harper, 1950). Also see studies reviewed in Cecil A. Gibbs, "Leadership," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Lindzey, ed., *op. cit.*, Volume II, pp. 877-920; Hare, "Interpersonal Relations in the Small Group," *op. cit.*; Kelley and Thibaut, *op. cit.*; Golembiewski, *op. cit.*; Verba, *Small Groups and Political Behavior*, *op. cit.*; and Hare, *Social Interaction*, *op. cit.*

79. See: Bennett, *op. cit.*; Verba, *Small Groups and Political Behavior*, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-212; and Lewin, "Forces Behind Food Habits and Methods of Change," *op. cit.*

80. Coch and French, *op. cit*.

81. Radke and Klisurich, *op. cit*.; and Lewin, "Forces Behind Food Habits and Methods of Change," *op. cit*. Also see discussion of this in Verba, *Small Groups and Political Behavior*, *op. cit*., p. 211.

82. Lewin, Lippitt, and White, *op. cit*. In addition to satisfaction and morale, results were compared on the dimensions of productivity, product quality, ability to do sustained work without the leader being present, dependency on the leader, scapegoating and aggression, and friendliness. On most of these dimensions, the democratic groups performed best but on product quantity (as opposed to quality) the authoritarian groups scored highest. The laissez-faire groups scored lowest on most dimensions.

83. For instance, see: Asch, *op. cit*.; and Wispé, *op. cit*. Also see studies reviewed in: Saunders *et al*., *op. cit*.; Kelley and Thibaut, *op. cit*.; Golembiewski, *op. cit*.; and Hare, "Interpersonal Relations in the Small Group," *op. cit*. The exceptions here tend to be grade-oriented students who fear that they are learning less in the discussion-oriented settings. Grades are in fact often found to be better in the lecture-oriented settings, but the findings here vary from study to study.

84. See especially Verba, *Small Groups and Political Behavior*, *op. cit*., pp. 11-12, 226-228, 231.

85. *Ibid*., especially pp. 8-9, 207.

86. *Ibid*., pp. 232-242.

87. *Ibid*., pp. 33, 240-242; Golembiewski, *op. cit*., p. 120; French, Israel and Ås, *op. cit*.; Kelley and Thibaut, *op. cit*.; Hare, "Interpersonal Relationships in the Small Group," *op. cit*.; Gibbs, *op. cit*.; Leonard Berkowitz, "Sharing Leadership in Small Decision Making Groups," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 48 (1953), pp. 231-238; N. T. Nouriezos, M. L. Hutt, and H. Guetzkow, "Measurement of Self-Oriented Needs in Discussion Groups," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 45 (1950), pp. 682-690; and Wispé, *op. cit*.

88. See Chapter V.

89. See: Verba, *Small Groups and Political Behavior*, *op. cit*, pp. 219-225; and Chris Argyris, *Personality and Organization* (New York: Harper, 1957), pp. 132-169.

90. Verba, *Small Groups and Political Behavior*, *op. cit*., pp. 222-224.

91. Carter, *Voters and Their Schools*, *op. cit*.

92. Richard A. Cloward and James A. Jones, "Social Class: Educational Attitudes and Participation," in *Education in Depressed Areas*, A. Harry Passow, ed. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1963), pp. 190-

216; and Wilder *et al*., *op. cit*., pp. 155-156, 451. Also see May, *op. cit*. for an application of this in a political context. May indicates that when blacks and whites of similar SES are compared, blacks participate more but are less satisfied, probably because the system is usually not functioning in the interests of blacks. Therefore, whether participation leads to satisfaction or dissatisfaction may be dependent on whether decision outcomes are viewed by the participants as beneficial to their interests.

93. French, Israel, and Ås, *op. cit*.

94. For instance, see: Friedman, *Observability in School Systems*, *op. cit*.; McLaughlin, *op. cit*.; and Patricia Cayo Sexton, *Education and Income: Inequalities in our Public Schools* (New York: Vintage, 1961), pp. 107-112.

95. For instance, see: Riley and Cohen, *op. cit*.; Raffel, *Responsiveness to Parental Preferences*, *op. cit*.; and M. Kent Jennings, "Parental Grievances and School Politics," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Fall 1968), pp. 363-378.

96. For instance, see: McLaughlin, *op. cit*.; and Rempson, *op. cit*.

97. For instance, see Lopate *et al*., "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," *op. cit*.

CHAPTER IX

1. This slogan was voiced frequently by community control advocates during the school controversies in New York City. It was the headline used in a full-page Urban Coalition advertisement in the *New York Times* during the Ocean Hill-Brownsville controversy in the fall of 1968.

2. The participation literature includes research on two distinct kinds of participation: formal participation in the political system, in organizations, and in organizationally- or institutionally-sponsored activities such as voting and meeting attendance, on the one hand, and informal participation of the "neighboring" kind, on the other. Research on "neighboring" (i.e., visiting and spending time with neighbors, friends, and relatives) was undertaken to investigate the arguments of mass society theorists, especially hypotheses about the loss of roots and consequent alienation and isolation hypothesized to exist in urban environments. Most of this research suggests that participation of the "neighboring" kind remains at high levels in all segments of the population. However, this kind of participation is of little relevance to our concerns. Our interest is focused rather on participation directed at such institutions as schools and other governmental agencies. For a good review of the social participation literature, see Marshall, "Who Participates in What?" *op. cit*. For a sample of the literature, see: Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (February 1956), pp. 13-18; Wendell Bell and Marion D. Boat, "Urban Neighborhoods and Informal Social Relations," *American Journal of Sociology*, 62 (January 1957), pp. 391-398; and Scott Greer and Ella Kuba, "Urbanism and Social Structure," in *Community Structure and Analysis*, Marvin B. Sussman, ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1959).

3. Lane, *Political Life*, *op. cit*.; Milbrath, *Political Participation*, *op. cit*., pp. 18-22; Julian Woodward and Elmo Roper, "Political Activity of American Citizens," *American Political Science Review*, 44 (December 1950), pp. 872-885; John H. Foskett, "Social Structure and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (August 1955), pp. 433-436; and John H. Foskett, "The Influence of Social Participation on Community Programs and Activities," in *Community Structure and Analysis*, Marvin B. Sussman, ed. (New York: Crowell, 1959), pp. 311-330.

   One scheme given by Milbrath provides the following estimates of participation in presidential elections and campaigns:

   Gladiators - 5%-7% - active in party, attend meetings, etc.

   Spectators - approx. 60% - minimal involvement: seeking information, discussing, proselytizing, displaying preferences (buttons and stickers), voting

   Apathetics - approx. 33%-35% - noninvolvement. (In nonpresidential elections, the percentage of Apathetics is considerably higher.)

Woodward and Roper's scheme, based on older data, estimated the population's activism as follows:

Very Active	10.3%
Active	16.8%
Inactive	34.6%
Very Inactive	38.3%

For greater detail on percentages participating in specific kinds of political activities, see the texts of the above references and especially Milbrath's, "Hierarchy of Political Participation," pp. 18-22 in Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit.

4. In nonpresidential national elections, in state and local elections, and in primaries, nonvoting rates are considerably higher. A sampling of voting statistics includes the following:

   a. in national presidential elections, 1952-1968, 59%-63%. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), especially pp. 373 and 375.

   b. in offyear congresssional elections, 1962-1970, 44%-46%. Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, op. cit., p. 375.

   c. in primaries, state, and local elections (range generally varies), 24% median turnout; mayoralty elections, 30%-52%. Sources: Lane, Political Life, op. cit., pp. 312-314; Banfield and Wilson, op. cit., pp. 224-225; Altshuler, op. cit., pp. 138-139.

   d. in OEO CAA elections in the first two years, mostly less than 8% of eligible voters with a high of 15.6% in one city. Sources: Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, op. cit., p. 137; Rubin, op. cit.; Altshuler, op. cit., pp. 138-139; Levitan, Great Society's Poor Law, op. cit., p. 114; and Bellush and David, op. cit., p. 47.

   e. in Model Cities elections, 7%-11%, with only four cities in the 24%-40% range. Source: Altshuler, op. cit., pp. 138-139.

5. For instance, see: Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, 23 (June 1958), pp. 284-294; Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, 11 (December 1946), pp. 686-698; Axelrod, op. cit.; Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 320; Lane, Political Life, op. cit., p. 77; Saxon Graham, "Social Correlates of Adult Leisure-Time Behavior," in Community Structure and Analysis, Sussman, ed., op. cit., pp. 331-354; Floyd Dotson, "Voluntary Associations Among Urban Working-Class Families," American Sociological Review, 16

(October 1951), pp. 687-693; and Nicholas Babchuck and Ralph V. Thompson, "The Voluntary Associations of Negroes," American Sociological Review, 27 (October 1962), pp. 647-655.

6. For the 32% figure, see both Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 320 and Axelrod, op. cit.

7. For instance, see: Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit.; Carter et al., Structure and Process of School-Community Relations, op. cit., Volume II; and Gallup, How the Nation Views the Public Schools, op. cit.

8. Carter et al., Structures and Process of School-Community Relations, op. cit., Volume II.

9. Participation tends to be higher for parents than nonparents, therefore higher for samples of parents than area samples of residents or voters. Participation also tends to be higher in communities of higher SES. This will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

10. For instance, see Gallup, How the Nation Views the Public Schools, op. cit.

11. Ibid.

12. Jennings, op. cit.

13. Cloward and Jones, op. cit.

14. Zimmer and Hawley, op. cit.

15. Gallup, How the Nation Views the Public Schools, op. cit.

16. Ibid. The percentages were even lower in Zimmer and Hawley's study of city and suburban residents in six metropolitan areas of varying size. For all community residents, the percentages who reported ever having attended a school board meeting ranged from 2.8% to 8.3% in different communities. Of parents with school-age children, the rates ranged from 5.6% to 15.6%. Zimmer and Hawley, op. cit.

17. Richard F. Carter, Voters in School Financial Elections (Stanford: Institute for Communications Research, Stanford University, 1960); Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit.; and Gallup, How the Nation Views the Schools, op. cit.

18. Gallup, How the Nation Views the Schools, op. cit.

19. Cloward and Jones, op. cit.

20. Jennings, op. cit.

21. On the relationship between SES and political participation, see:

Lane, *Political Life*, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-334; Milbrath, *Political Participation*, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-128; May, *op. cit.*; Marshall, "Who Participates in What?" *op. cit.*; Woodward and Roper, *op. cit.*; B. Berelson, P. F. Lazarsfeld, and W. N. McPhee, *Voting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954); Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, *op. cit.*; Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, *op. cit.*; Robert Agger and Vincent Ostrom, "Political Participation in a Small Community," in *Political Behavior*, Heinz Eulau, Samuel Eldersveld, and Morris Janowitz, eds. (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956), pp. 138-148; and William Erbe, "Social Involvement and Political Activity: A Replication and Elaboration," *American Sociological Review*, 29 (April 1964), pp. 198-215.

On the relationship between SES and organizational affiliation, see: Milbrath, *Political Participation*, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 130-133; May, *op. cit.*; Marshall, "Who Participates in What?" *op. cit.*; Woodward and Roper, *op. cit.*; Wright and Hyman, *op. cit.*; Erbe, *op. cit.*; Almond and Verba, *op. cit.*; Agger and Ostrom, *op. cit.*; Axelrod, *op. cit.*; Wendell Bell, "Anomie, Social Isolation and the Class Structure," *Sociometry*, 20 (June 1957), pp. 105-116; Wendell Bell and Maryanne Force, "Social Structure and Participation in Different Types of Formal Associations," *Social Forces*, 35 (May 1956), pp. 345-350; Wendell Bell and Maryanne Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (1956), pp. 25-34; Dotson, *op. cit.*, Foskett, "Social Structure and Social Participation," *op. cit.*; Foskett, "The Influence of Social Participation on Community Programs and Activities," *op. cit.*; Komarovsky, *op. cit.*; and Anthony M. Orum, "A Reappraisal of the Social and Political Participation of Negroes," *American Journal of Sociology*, 72 (May 1967), pp. 32-46.

On the relationship between SES and participation in educational affairs, see: Carter, *Voters and Their Schools*, *op. cit.*; Carter *et al.*, *Structure and Process of School-Community Relations*, *op. cit.*, Volume II; Robert E. Herriott and Nancy Hoyt St. John, *Social Class and the Urban School: The Impact of Pupil Background on Teachers and Principals* (New York: Wiley, 1966), pp. 41-42; Sexton, *Education and Income*, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-112, 165-166; Gallup, *How the Nation Views the Public Schools*, *op. cit.*; Rempson, *op. cit.*, p. 135; *Children and Their Primary Schools* (Plowden Report), *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 35, Volume II, pp. 128-132, 139; Zimmer and Hawley, *op. cit.*; Friedman, *op. cit.*; and Gottfried, "A Survey of Parental Views of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Experiment," *op. cit.* An example of the striking nature of the participation differentials by SES is Sexton's data on membership in school parent associations. When parents were categorized by family income levels, 10% of those in the lowest SES group but 74% of those in the highest SES group were members of elementary school parent associations. Sexton, *Education and Income*, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

22. On the relationship between organizational affiliation and political participation, see: Lane, *Political Life*, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-203; Milbrath, *Political Participation*, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-132; May, *op.*

cit.; Marshall, "Who Participates in What?" op. cit.; Wright and Hyman, op. cit.; Erbe, op. cit.; Agger and Ostrum, op. cit.; Zimmer and Hawley, op. cit.; Herbert Maccoby, "The Differential Political Activity of Participants in a Voluntary Association," American Sociological Review, 23 (1958), pp. 524-532; Dahl, Who Governs? op. cit.; and Scott Greer and Peter Orleans, "The Mass Society and the Parapolitical Structure," American Sociological Review, 27 (October 1962), pp. 634-646.

On the relationship between educational participation, on the one hand, and political organizational participation, on the other, see: Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit.; Carter et al., Structure and Process of School-Community Relations, op. cit., Volume II; Jennings, op. cit.; and Zimmer and Hawley, op. cit.

23. On black-white differentials in participation, see: Babchuck and Thompson, op. cit.; Orum, op. cit.; Lane, Political Life, op. cit., pp. 74-79; Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., pp. 138-141; Lester W. Milbrath, Individual Change During a Period of Community Intervention for Change: Problems of Race and Poverty in Buffalo, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1969; May, op. cit.; and Dahl, Who Governs? op. cit., pp. 293-295. The old Wright and Hyman, op. cit. data finding blacks participating at lower levels than whites is outdated by these more recent analyses.

24. See: Erbe, op. cit.; and Paul Burstein, "Social Structure and Individual Political Participation in Five Countries," American Journal of Sociology, 77 (May 1972), pp. 1087-1110.

25. Jennings, op. cit.; Zimmer and Hawley, op. cit.; Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit.; Carter et al., Structure and Process of School-Community Relations, op. cit., Volume II.

26. The original plans for the Center for Urban Education's School Legitimacy Study called for interviews with leaders of community organizations in our sample of 64 New York City school neighborhoods stratified by race and SES. We did not receive the funding necessary to carry out this phase of the research but did complete some of the work planned in preparation for this phase. In order to identify the community leaders to be interviewed, we had spoken with knowledgeable informants and also included questions about community organizations and organization level in our interviews with PTA presidents and school personnel in each of the 64 neighborhoods. The general picture that emerged was one of a considerably higher level of community organization in black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods than in white neighborhoods.

27. Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., pp. 3-6, 36-38.

28. For instance, see: Acton Society Trust, Size and Morale (London: Acton Society Trust, 1953); B. P. Indik, Organizational Size and Member Participation, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the

American Psychological Association, 1961; Barker and Gump, op. cit.; and Mort and Cornell, op. cit. However, school district size was found to have little effect on voter turnout in Richard F. Carter and William G. Savard, Influence of Voter Turnout on School Bond and Tax Elections (Washington, D.C.: Cooperative Research Monograph #5, U.S. Office of Education, 1961).

29. Barker and Gump, op. cit.

30. Mort and Cornell, op. cit.

31. Indik, op. cit.; and Acton Society Trust, op. cit.

32. Indik, op. cit.

33. Cohen and Smith, op. cit.

34. For instance, see: Greer and Orleans, op. cit.; Robert Wood, Suburbia: Its People and Their Politics (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958); Market Opinion Research, A Study of Community Attitudes - Columbus, Ohio, op. cit.; Zimmer and Hawley, op. cit.

35. See Marshall, "Who Participates in What?" op. cit., pp. 210-213; Greer and Orleans, op. cit.; and Wood, op. cit.

36. See description of findings of Bollens and Schmandt in Marshall, "Who Participates in What?" op. cit., p. 211.

37. Zimmer and Hawley, op. cit., pp. 68-82. There was not significant difference by size of metropolitan area on attendance at PTA or school board meetings. There were significant differences in participation defined as talking to the school superintendent or to a school board member. Small metropolitan areas were found to have more participation of this kind, but the numbers for all areas were quite small. On the important indicator of voting in school elections, small metropolitan areas actually had lower turnouts than either medium-sized or large metropolitan areas. This was true for both the city neighborhoods and suburbs of these metropolitan areas.

38. Ibid. Residents' access to school superintendents and school board members does appear to be related to community scale. Participation of this kind is greater not only in suburbs compared to city areas, but also in small metropolitan areas compared to middle-size and large metropolitan areas.

39. This is confirmed not only by the Zimmer and Hawley data but by all surveys that provide separate analyses by parental status. For instance, see: Gallup, How the National Views the Public School, op. cit.; Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit.; Carter et al., Structure and Process of School-Community Relations, op. cit., Volume II.

40. These figures are consistently high in every study that has investigated this question. In the Lower East Side neighborhood studied by

Cloward and Jones, op. cit., 61% of the resident sample had no school-age children. In the Columbus, Ohio study contrasting inner-city and middle-city areas (analogous in significant aspects to city-suburban differences), 64% of the inner-city sample and 39% of the middle-city sample were without school-age children. Cities and suburbs differ not only by age of population (and therefore proportion with school-age children), they also differ in proportion with no children of any age. In the Columbus study, 31% of the inner-city sample were non-parents compared with 14% of the middle-city sample. (Market Opionin Research, A Study of Community Attitudes - Columbus, Ohio, op. cit.) In the Zimmer and Hawley study, the contrast between cities and suburbs on this factor was smallest in large metropolitan areas. Here 64% of the city households had no school-age children compared with 53% of the suburban households. (Zimmer and Hawley, op. cit., p. 40.)

41. Zimmer and Hawley, op. cit., p. 42. Note also that Catholics tend to live in large metropolitan areas rather than medium-sized or smaller areas and this should therefore be taken into account in explaining differences in school participation levels in metropolitan areas of varying size.

42. In addition to the Zimmer and Hawley study, this is confirmed by the data in Gallup, How the Nation Views the Public Schools, op. cit.; Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit.; Carter et al., Structure and Process of School-Community Relations, op. cit., Volume II. However, it should be noted that on such participation measures as attendance at PTA meetings in their parochial schools, parochial school parents are more active than public school parents, as demonstrated in Gallup, How the Nation Views the Public Schools, op. cit.

43. Zimmer and Hawley, op. cit., pp. 76-82.

44. Bennett M. Berger, Working-Class Suburb: A Study of Auto Workers in Suburbia (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), especially pp. 58-73.

45. Ibid., "Preface to 1968 Printing," p. xvi.

46. Ibid., pp. xiv-xv.

47. For instance, see Gittell, "Community Control of Schools," op. cit.

48. For instance, see: Berube, "Educational Achievement and Community Control," op. cit.; and Lopate et al., "Decentralization and Community Participation in Public Education," op. cit. For a suggestion along these lines, also see Walker, "A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy," op. cit.

49. For instance, Gittell in "Community Control of Schools," op. cit. cites the Norwegian election studies we reference below in footnote 50.

50. Stein Rokkan and Angus Campbell, "Norway and the United States of

America," International Social Science Journal, 12 (1960), pp. 69-99; also see discussion in Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

51. Lane, Political Life, op. cit., pp. 256-264.

52. Jennings, op. cit. Also see Riley and Cohen, op. cit. for speculation about the relationship between one's majority/minority status in community, on the one hand, and attitudes toward parental involvement and desired structural changes in school system governance, on the other.

53. Friedman, Observability in School Systems, op. cit., pp. 66-74.

54. For instance, see: Lane, Political Life, op. cit., pp. 185-334, 348-357; Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., pp. 90-141; May, op. cit., Dahl, Who Governs? op. cit., pp. 60-63, 282-301; Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, op. cit., pp. 60-63; Demas, op. cit.; Walker, "A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy," op. cit.; Verba, Democratic Participation," op. cit.; Almond and Verba, op. cit.; Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, op. cit.; Zwiebach, op. cit., pp. 6-7; Jennings, op. cit.; Arnstein, op. cit., p. 74; Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit., Chapter IV, pp. 129-150; and Carter et al., Structure and Process of School-Community Relations, op. cit., Volume II.

55. These are the category labels used in Verba, Democratic Participation, op. cit. For variants of this, see: May, op. cit.; Lane, Political Life, op. cit.; and Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit.

56. Especially see: Lane, Political Life, op. cit., pp. 101-255; Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., pp. 48-89, 110-141; and May, op. cit.

57. Especially see: Verba, "Democratic Participation," op. cit.; Almond and Verba, op. cit.; Lane, Political Life, op. cit., pp. 187-255; Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., pp. 110-141.

58. For instance, see: Verba, "Democratic Participation," op. cit.; Lane, Political Life, op. cit., pp. 256-334; Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., pp. 90-109; May, op. cit.; Demas, op. cit.

59. For instance, see: Lane, Political Life, op. cit.; and Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit.

60. Dahl, Who Governs? op. cit., pp. 293-295.

61. Orum, op. cit.

62. Ibid.

63. Johnnie Daniel, "Negro Political Behavior and Community Political and Socioeconomic Structural Factors," Social Forces, 47 (March 1969), pp. 274-280.

64. Steinberg, Some Structural Determinants of Citizen Participation in Educational Policy-Making in Suburbia, op. cit.

65. For instance, see: Demas, op. cit.; Lane, Political Life, op. cit., pp. 310-311; Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., p. 96.

66. For instance, see studies reviewed in Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., pp. 39-47.

67. For instance, see: ibid.; Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, op. cit.; and Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, op. cit.

68. For instance, see studies reviewed in Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., pp. 50-55.

69. Carter et al., Structure and Process of School-Community Relations, op. cit., Volume II.

70. See: Wilder et al., op. cit.; and Friedman, Observability in School Systems, op. cit. The investigation described here was conducted by Nathalie Friedman as a doctoral dissertation under Wilder's supervision. The study is described in greater detail in the Friedman publication. She summarized the study in a single chapter that was included in the Wilder et al. publication.

71. Friedman, Observability in School Systems, op. cit., p. 74. The underlining for emphasis is Friedman's.

72. Friedman described observability arrangements as representing "the extent to which the school provides ready opportunity for parents to obtain knowledge regarding the norms and role-performance of school personnel." Observability refers to "readiness of access to information about the norms and values prevailing in" the school. The term "observability" is derived from the assumption that these arrangements are aimed at increasing "the visibility" of "school programs and practices." Friedman, Observability in School Systems, op. cit., pp. 40, 49.

73. Ibid., pp. 45-46.

74. This explanation is not adequate to account for differences between elementary schools and high schools. Here the source of the differences may lie in differences in school size and/or the lesser pressure of parent expectations about participation on the high school level.

75. Just as it is unclear what an active PTA is in the rating of school observability arrangements, the reader has no way of knowing what use of the PTA is implied in assigning scores to individual parents on Friedman's index of formal contact.

76. See above, Chapter IX, footnote 22.

77. With regard to PTAs, see above, Chapter VIII, footnote 95; with regard to organizations in general, see references on SES and organizational affiliation in Chapter IX, footnote 21.

78. See above, Chapter IX, footnote 21 references with regard to SES and organizational affiliation.

79. Friedman, Observability in School Systems, op. cit., p. 73. The data were as follows: For Parent-Teacher Conferences, 88% of the middle class sample attended, compared with 78% of the working class sample. For Back-to-School Night, 74% of the middle class sample attended, compared with 55% of the working class sample. For PTA use, the figures were 70% of the middle class and 49% of the working class.

80. Ibid., pp. 45-46, 71.

81. Friedman's parent sample included mothers only. However, a mother was categorized as college-educated if either she or her husband had attended college; a mother was categorized as noncollege if neither parent had attended college. (The educational attainment measure was essentially a family measure rather than a measure specific to the mother per se.)

82. In middle class communities, noncollege parents may be ill at ease in social situations. In working class communities, community norms, values, and problems tend to discourage participation.

83. Acland, "The Effects of Family Background: The Reanalysis of the Plowden Data," op. cit., pp. D-19, D-20, and D-29 through D-32. The description of Acland's data and analysis lacks clarity on at least one important point. I have made an assumption about what Acland did in his analysis. I intend to determine whether my assumption is correct through personal correspondence with Acland and discussions with his colleagues at the Harvard University Center for Educational Policy Research.

Acland described four items that he used as measures of "school provision" of opportunities for participation: whether or not the school had a PTA; the number of meetings held each year on educational matters; the number of school functions held each year; and Her Majesty's Inspector's rating of school-home continuity. Acland mentioned four items in a grouping he referred to as "contact with school:" "number of times parent had seen teacher; if parent had seen teacher on child's educational progress; if parent thinks teacher is pleased to see them /sic/; and if parent thinks teacher is interested in parents /sic/ ideas."

Acland indicated that he regressed each of the four items in the "school provision" grouping on a dependent variable described as "level of parent contact with school." However, it is unclear from his discussion whether this "parent contact" measure refers to a combined index of the four measures in the "contact with school" grouping or a single item such as "number of times parent had seen teacher." I would regard as suspect any measure that combined both the behavioral and attitudinal items listed in the "contact with school" grouping. I am assuming that the single-item measure ("number of times parent had seen teacher") was used in Acland's regressions.

This is the point of confusion that needs clarification.

Examination of the beta weights Acland reported indicates that two of his school provision items were so weakly associated with parental contact that the relationship is trivial. These two items were "if school has PTA" and "number of meetings on education." The item "HMI rating of school-home continuity" requires more explanation to assess whether it is tapping something we can consider a valid school provision measure. This leaves us with one clear measure of school provision with a substantial relationship to parental contact: this is the measure labelled "number of school functions." In short, what I assume Acland's finding means is that the more functions for parents provided by the school, the greater the number of times the parent has had contact with the child's teacher -- a less than startling revelation.

84. Acland, Attitudes Toward Schools, op. cit.

CHAPTER X

1. Friedman, Observability in School Systems, op. cit.

2. Ibid., p. 217. 66% of the mothers who are very satisfied with their child's school are mothers who are satisfied with their child's academic performance. In contrast, only 36% of the mothers who are not very satisfied with their child's school are mothers who are satisfied with their child's academic performance.

3. We are using the term "participation" to refer to what Friedman describes as "contacts" or "formal contacts."

4. However, the differences between the college and noncollege groups are not very large. Observablity may decrease the gap between the college and noncollege groups, but it seems reasonable to ask whether decreasing that gap amounts to enough of a change to have social as well as merely statistical significance.

5. Cloward and Jones, op. cit., p. 213.

6. Friedman, Observability in School Systems, op. cit., pp. 230-231. The underscoring for emphasis is Friedman's.

7. See our discussion in Chapter VIII.

8. French, Israel, and Ås, op. cit. See our discussion of this study in Chapter VIII.

9. Carter, Voters and Their Schools, op. cit. See our discussion of this study in Chapter VIII.

10. Friedman, Observability in School Systems, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

11. Acland, "The Effects of Family Background: The Reanalysis of the Plowden Data," op. cit., pp. D-30 to D-32.

12. The same survey and results are reported in Cronin and Hailer, op. cit., pp. 23-24 and in Raffel, Responsiveness to Parental Preferences, op. cit., Chapter X, pp. 10, 12, 13.

13. Riley and Cohen, op. cit., pp. 8, 28.

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APPENDIX A

ISSUE ANALYSIS, COMMENTARY, AND DEBATE ON NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL CONTROVERSIES IN THE MEDIA

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